

THE ISLAND PRINCES OF GREECE  
THE DUKES OF THE ARCHIPELAGO

by  
Charles Frazee  
The Text  
and  
Kathleen Frazee  
The Photographs



ADOLF M. HAKKERT - PUBLISHER - AMSTERDAM

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## List of Plates

Naxos from the sea. Marco Sanudo's thirteenth-century castro still towers over the harbor and the modern town. P.20.

The Cathedral of Ayios Mamas now stands deserted but once was Naxos' cathedral. It became a Latin possession after the Venetian occupation and its fiefs were a major source of revenue for the Catholic bishops. P.9.

The door of the castro gate which separated the Catholic area of Naxos from the Orthodox bourgo. P.20.

This rubble wall is all that remains of Marco Sanudo's donjon in the castro. It is typical Venetian construction. Note the use of marble from classical Naxos. P.20.

Apanokastro is located on the right side of the mountain which towers over Naxos' Drymalian plain. Here the Latin dukes often met with their advisors. In 1537 Duke Giovanni IV and his lords conferred here on how to respond to Barbarossa. P.30.

The ducal chapel is now distinguished by its baroque altar and painting of Mary. Above it can be seen the Gothic roof which dates from the Middle Ages. P.20.

The interior of the church of St. Anthony the Hermit. Its fourteenth century columns and arches remain intact from the time it was the possession of the Knights Hospitallers of St. John. P.75.

## MILOS

The Byzantine cathedral of Milos, in the now abandoned town of Zephyria. P.89.

The castro of Milos, built in the thirteenth century, was the second home of the dukes of Naxos. P.43.

A rubble wall in the Milos castro. Aside from a few walls and several churches the Milos fortress has been destroyed. P.43.

## ANDROS

A street of the Andros middle castro. Modern houses line the way along with ancient walls. P.47.

The Catholic cathedral of Andros dedicated to St. Andrew. Several times rebuilt it now serves a single Catholic family on the island. P.94.

## VI

The famous arched bridge of Andros which spans the small channel separating the lower from the middle castro. It had to be rebuilt after the shelling of Andros during World War II. Part of the original fortress is in the background. P.47.

### SANTORINI (Thira)

An artist's sketch of Skaros as it appeared in the eighteenth century to the British traveller, Thomas Hope. Houses of the Italian lords cling precariously to its side. At the top was the fort and the governor's residence. Benaki Museum #27255. P.51.

Skaros today. Earthquakes shook down its houses leaving the cliff uninhabited. The descendents of its early residents now live in neighboring Merovigli. P.51.

Map of Santorini. Its five castros are located along with the Catholic village of Karterados. P.51.

The church of Our Lady of the Bishop at Gonias built in the eleventh century on orders of Emperor Alexios Komnenos. It once held a Catholic altar. P.51.

The entrance to the castro at Akrotiri, called La Punta by the Italians. It was long held as a fief of the Gozzadini family on behalf of the dukes of Naxos. P.51.

A double church on Santorini. Catholic and Orthodox worshippers used the same inner wall and both bells could be rung by a single individual. P.96.

### PAROS

The roof on Justinian's sixth century church of Our Lady of the Hundred Gates on Paros. In 1963 the church was renovated. P.6.

Interior of the baptistry attached to Our Lady of the Hundred Gates. The baptistry was probably built before the church. P.6.

Paros' castro wall contains marble blocks which were taken from a classical temple of Demeter. P.44.

### IOS

The harbor entrance of Ios. Over the centuries it provided pirates with an excellent mooring. P.44.

The castro of Ios. This was the one major town on the island during the period of the Duchy of the Archipelago. P.91.

Venetian galleys. This painting illustrates the ships that sailed the Aegean during the Middle Ages. Venice made the best galleys of Europe. P.67.

The church at Andravida. This Gothic basilica, the Church of Ayia Sophia, is all that remains of the Frankish capital of the Morea. P.28.

## VII

### SIROS

In the eighteenth century a traveller made a sketch of the town of Ano Siros situated on its mountain. Only Catholics lived on Siros until the nineteenth century. P.50.

A view of Ano Siros today. The Catholic Ano Siros is on the left; to the right and in the foreground is modern Ermoupolis, capital of the Cyclades. An Orthodox cathedral now crowns the hill on the right. P.50.

The Catholic church of Ayios Ioannis. It is typical of the dozens of small churches, Catholic and Orthodox, that dot the island. They are usually open only on their patron's feast day. P.94.

A street in the castro of Ano Siros. The stout walls of the houses were excellent for defense. P.94.

St. George's Catholic cathedral. The church sits atop the highest point of the hill. A Latin bishop still lives in Ano Siros. P.49.

### KEA

A view of Ioulis. This was the site of the only castro of Kea. Its walls were torn down in the nineteenth century. P.59.

The castro wall at Kea. Here classical blocks form the base while a typical Venetian wall is built above. P.60.

The entrance to the fortress of Kea. The single entrance made an attack difficult for pirates and invaders. P.98.

### SIFNOS

A view of Sifnos. This island, well watered compared to most of the Cyclades, was important for supplying food to the inhabitants of the Duchy of the Archipelago in the Middle Ages. P.45.

The castro entrance of Sifnos. Here the Gozzadini dynasty lived for centuries. It was the last island to fall to Turkish control in the seventeenth century. P.91.

Houses in the Sifnos castro. Today the nearly empty castro still presents its best white-washed face to the traveller. Unlike most castros, it sits on the water, rather than inland. P.91.

### SERIFOS

The harbor at Serifos. It is a long journey from the harbor to the hilltop castro of the island. P.59.

The top of the Serifos castro. Here several churches and walls remain from the Middle Ages. P.99.

## VIII

### KITHNOS

The road to the Kithnos castro. Today a nearly deserted path leads to the fortress that once guarded the island. The wall construction, with its large centerpiece, is unique to this island. P.46.

The castro of Kithnos. The Middle Ages' Katakephalou, both city and fortress, had a commanding view of the Aegean. P.46.

The interior of Ayios Spyridon and Ayios Panteleimon. Once a double church for Catholic and Orthodox, today both sides are used for Orthodox worship. The church is located in the Gozzadini capital of Messaria. P.92.

### TINOS

The Exombourgo of Tinos and the Castle of St. Helena was sketched in the seventeenth century. P.57. From Coronelli, Arcipelago, p.22.

Exombourgo towers over the town of Xenaria, built by the dispossessed inhabitants in the eighteenth century when the Turks ordered the Venetian city destroyed. P.105.

The view from Exombourgo. These walls made it an impregnable fortress. P.57.

The site of Exombourgo. The Venetians lost their city in 1714 after five hundred years' occupation. P.108.



## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Preface.....	XI
Introduction .....	1
Chapter One: The Origins of the Duchy of the Archipelago..	11
Chapter Two: The Archipelago under the Sanudo Dukes ....	25
Chapter Three: The Sanudo Empire.....	43
Chapter Four: The Ghisi and their Islands .....	55
Chapter Five: The Crispo Dynasty .....	63
Chapter Six: The Archipelago in the Crispo Era .....	89
Chapter Seven: The Venetian Islands .....	101
Bibliography .....	111



## PREFACE

The last time anyone wrote a history of the Duchy of the Archipelago in English was in 1908 when William Miller included it in two chapters of *Latins in the Levant*.

The present work adds to his presentation whatever new information has come to light in the past eighty years. Our thanks go to the Athenian librarians at the Gennadion, the American and British Schools who have made this available to us, to grants from the American Council of Learned Societies and the American Philosophical Society, and to the men who sailed the Ventouris Ferries in the summers of 1984 and 1985.



## INTRODUCTION

### The Cyclades in the Ancient World

When Edmund About, a French diplomat sent to Greece in the nineteenth century, arrived in the country he tells how he came expecting, "a sky without a cloud, a sea without a ripple, an unending spring, and above all clear rivers and cool shade."<sup>1</sup> Modern travellers who dream of sailing among the Cyclades in the warm months of the summer often have the same expectations, for no islands throughout history have been so romanticized.

The fact of the matter is that the Aegean is not an easy sea upon which to navigate. It has swift and unexpected currents, in winter terrible storms make it extremely turbulent, torrential rains isolate one island from another. In the warm months of the year a new threat appears: sudden and violent winds blow from the north making it dangerous for even large vessels to leave port. This wind is called the *Meltemi*, possibly from the Italian for "bad times." It results from a high pressure area concentrated over the Sahara once the desert warms to a certain degree.

The Cyclades are not like the Carribean Islands covered with lush vegetation. There is very little rain in the summer months so their color is a dusty brown once the short spring is over. They are extremely rocky with less than twenty per cent of their surface arable. Once they were forested, but in the early days of human settlement the trees were cut down leaving the soil subject to erosion. To sum up, life is hard both on land and sea for those people who have made the islands their home.

Despite their difficulties it was here that the first European civilization was born. Around 3000 B.C. ancient people learned

<sup>1</sup> Edmund About, *La Grèce contemporaine* (Paris, 1854), p.3.

how to cope with the fickle sea, mastered the smelting of bronze and created the first sculpture. Archaeologists have given the name Cycladic to this culture. The growing of cereal grains, the cultivation of the vine and olive tree, and trade in obsidian made Cycladic civilization possible. Later the accomplishments of the islanders passed to Crete giving birth to Minoan civilization.

Early Cycladic remains are found on Delos and Naxos, at Phylakopi on the island of Milos and Chalandriani on Siros. A late Cycladic settlement is also at Ayia Irini on Kea. At these sites it is possible to trace the comings and goings of the people of the islands whom both Thucydides and Herodotus called Carians, a people whose homeland was on the Anatolian peninsula. Cycladic statuettes are to be found scattered on sites of Naxos, contemporary with the Old Kingdom of Egypt.<sup>2</sup>

The most exciting event in the Cyclades occurred about 1500 B.C. The island of Kaliste (now Thira), in reality a volcano, exploded in what has probably been the loudest noise of historic times. It buried a town named Akrotiri in ashes whose ruins provide a glimpse of Bronze Age life to be seen nowhere else in Europe.

Around 900 B.C. Ionian Greeks began populating the Aegean. Delos was especially favored since legend had Apollo born here, making the island one of the earliest and most famous shrines of the Greeks.

Naxos, the largest of the Cyclades, was so prosperous that around 735 B.C. it established a colony in Sicily, aptly called Naxia. It was also on Naxos that Theseus, the founder of Athens, abandoned Ariadne after she had saved him from the terrible minotaur of Crete.

Some legends say that Dionysos was born here, raised by cave nymphs. Others say that he married the abandoned Ariadne and placed his wedding wreath into the sky, a crown of stars, still to

<sup>2</sup> The Cycladic period has three divisions: Early Cycladic (3000-2000 B.C.), Middle Cycladic (2000-1500 B.C.), and Late Cycladic (1500-1100 B.C.). Phylakopi has towns in each of these periods. On Cycladic civilization see Colin Renfrew, *The Emergence of Civilization: the Cyclades and the Aegean in the Third Millennium B.C.* (London, 1972).

be seen as the Corona borealis. The worship of Dionysos was always associated with Naxos, an island filled with vineyards.<sup>3</sup>

Naxos reached its greatest prosperity in the sixth century B.C. when governed by the tyrant Lygdamis. He was an ally of Peisistratos in Athens and like him had come to power by overthrowing the aristocrats who formerly had administered the island. Lygdamis with a large force of hoplites made Naxos the most powerful city of the Cyclades, forcing islands from Andros to Paros to pay him tribute.

His lasting monument is a huge doorway measuring twelve by twenty feet, which belongs to the cella of an unfinished Ionic temple within sight of the modern city of Naxos. It testifies to the grandiose plans of the tyrant, for after his death the project was apparently abandoned. In the Middle Ages the island on which the temple was built was called Palatia since it was thought to be the remains of a palace Dionysos had built for Ariadne.<sup>4</sup> Peisistratos, Lygdamis' ally, took it upon himself to purify the island of Delos at about the same time the Naxian temple was under construction. He ordered all graves removed from Delos and gave instructions that no one should be born or die on this sacred island of Apollo.

In 501 the Persian fleet entered the Aegean. At first rebuffed by an eight thousand man army on Naxos, the Persians proved successful in conquering the Cyclades eleven years later. Naxos fell to a fleet commanded by Datis and Artaphernes; its capital was destroyed; its walls torn down and its temples pillaged. Naxos' population fled to the interior.

The island and the other Cyclades now came under Persian rule. Delos, however, survived intact; since Sifnos, Serifos and Milos had offered to submit to Persia they, too, were treated gently by the invaders.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>3</sup> "Golden-haired Dionysos took for his buxom wife blond-haired Ariadne, daughter of Minos, and Zeus made her immortal and without age." Hesiod, *Theogony*, 947.

<sup>4</sup> Ernle Bradford, *The Companion Guide to the Greek Islands* (2nd ed., London, 1970), p.208.

The victory over the Persians at Marathon encouraged Miltiades, the Athenian general, to pursue the Persians, driving them out of the Cyclades, but in a naval engagement near Paros, he suffered a major defeat.<sup>6</sup> This event insured that the Aegean remained a Persian lake. In 480 Xerxes demanded the islands supply seventeen crews and ships for his expedition against Athens and Sparta. They reluctantly complied; the only exception was Kea whose navy joined the Athenians at Artemision.

As the Greeks came into line with the Persians at Salamis several commanders found an opportunity to desert the foreign navy. Demokritos, the Naxian commander, went over to the Greek side. The islander contribution was acknowledged on the tripod which was dedicated at Plataea to commemorate the battle and on the serpentine column of Delphi which now is found in Istanbul. Besides Naxos the other Cycladic islands of Milos, Tinos, Kithnos and Kea were also honored for fighting against the Persian invaders.<sup>7</sup>

Athens' victory allowed it to form a league with its treasury on the island of Delos. The Naxians and most islanders joined the league only to discover they had replaced one master with another. In 471 when it sought to leave, the Athenians defeated Naxos and converted the island into little more than its dependency. After 450 Athenian military colonies, called cleruchies, were settled on Naxos to make sure of its allegiance. When the Peloponnesian War broke out with Sparta, Athens kept the loyalty of all the Cyclades with the exception of Milos. After the war a short period of independence followed, but island strength was in decline.<sup>8</sup>

In Hellenistic times the Cyclades were garrisoned by Macedonians and later by Egyptian Ptolemies. Thira became an Egyptian naval base. The Aegean Islands were little more than pawns in the struggles between the Macedonian successors of Alexander. Delos

<sup>5</sup> Herodotus, *The Persian Wars*, VII, 95.

<sup>6</sup> Herodotus, *Persian Wars*, V,30; VI, 96; VIII, 46.

<sup>7</sup> Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, V. 23.2.

<sup>8</sup> Herodotus, *Persian Wars*, IX, 95; Thucydides, *The Peloponnesian War*, I, 96.



still kept its special position because of its sanctuary, but most of the Cyclades no longer enjoyed any prominence.

### *The Cyclades Under Rome*

Roman occupation after 146 B.C. meant good times for the Cyclades since the islands enjoyed greater economic opportunities within the large Mediterranean empire that Rome constructed. Delos, with its famous sanctuary, was given many privileges and was recognized as a free port. Its excellent harbor became the major slave market of the Eastern Mediterranean.

At that time the Athenians controlled Delian worship. In the third year of each Olympiad, on Apollo's birthday in May, a convoy of ships full of priests, choirs, devotees and sacrificial animals sailed to the island. The *Theoris*, the sacred ship of the city, carried the leading Athenians on board. They worshipped at Apollo's temple in days filled with hymns, prayers and games.

The quiet of the Roman Cyclades was broken during the wars between Rome and Mithridates. For a time the armies of the Pontic king occupied the Cyclades. Mithridates then placed most of the islands under Athenian control since this city had become an ally. The Roman garrison on Delos, however, resisted and Mithridates directed his general Menophanes to crush his opponents bringing an end to Delian prosperity.

During the Roman period Christianity came to the Cyclades. Tradition has it that St. John, having spent an exile on Patmos, decided on preaching the Gospel on Naxos, and thence the new religion spread to the rest of the Cyclades. Many churches and monasteries on Naxos were subsequently named in his honor.

In Diocletian's division of the Empire, the Cyclades were quite naturally assigned to the Orient. Some were placed in the prefecture of Illyricum in the diocese of Macedonia; other islands were made a separate province belonging to the Diocese of Asia with its capital at Ephesus. The overall administration of the Aegean area was left to the Prefect of the Orient who kept his residence in Syrian Antioch. During the late fourth century the Goths and

Scythians began raiding the islands. Roman authorities were unable to suppress the piracy which always figured prominently in Aegean history.<sup>9</sup>

### *The Byzantine Period*

During these difficult times the first certain evidence of Christianity appeared, although little is known beyond the names of several bishops. The religious head of Paros signed the decrees of Ephesus and in 451 Barachos of Naxos autographed the condemnation of Monophysitism at Chalcedon. Cycladic bishops' names appear on the lists of those attending other major councils in the fifth and sixth centuries.<sup>10</sup> The transition from Roman to Christian worship is still evidenced by a Naxian temple which was transformed into a church at Gyroulas near modern day Sangri.<sup>11</sup> The bishops of the Cyclades were suffragans of the archbishop of Rhodes.

During the period of Justinian the island of Paros was given the singular privilege of having a great church built upon it, the Panayia Ekatontapiliani. A long-standing tradition holds that the original church was commissioned by St. Helena on her journey to Jerusalem. This church is the largest and most beautiful building of the Cyclades dating from the Middle Ages.<sup>12</sup>

Justinian also made changes in the island's civil administration. The Cyclades, Cyprus and Caria on the Anatolian mainland were joined to Moesia Secunda (Bulgaria) and Scythia (Bessarabia) to form a single unit under a *quaestor*. This official with residence in Odhessos (now Varna) held both civil and military authority.

The Slavic invasion of the early seventh century must have

<sup>9</sup> George Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State* (rev. ed., Joan Hussey, trans., New Brunswick, 1969), pp.52-54.

<sup>10</sup> Conrad Eubel, *Hierarchia catholica medii aevi* (3 vols., Münster, 1898-1910), I, 375.

<sup>11</sup> "Naxos," *Princeton Encyclopedia of Classical Sites* (Richard Stillwell et al., eds., Princeton, 1976), p.611.

<sup>12</sup> H.H.Jewell and F.W.Hasluck, *The Church of Our Lady of the Hundred Gates in Paros* (London, 1920).

caused new worries for the islanders but few records from that time exist. In addition to the Slavs the Arabs appeared almost at the same time inspired by their newly-accepted faith in Islam. The efforts of Heraklios to hold the line in Armenia and Anatolia resulted in the creation of the *thème*, the political-military unit which provided the administrative basis for the Byzantine Middle Ages. The Cyclades, known at this time as the *Dodekanesoi* (the twelve islands), became one of the naval themes, *Aiyaion Pelagos*, τὸ θέμα τοῦ Ἀιγαίου Πελάγους. At its head was a *dhrungarios*, an admiral, rather than a *strategos*, a general. Theophanes in his *Chronographia* specifically speaks of the Δρουγγάριος τῆς Δωδεκανήσου.<sup>13</sup>

Naxian history is illuminated in the seventh century by the forced visit of the bishop of Rome, Pope Martin I, to the island. Martin had refused to accept the Monotheletism espoused by Emperor Constans II and was ordered arrested. In 653 he was taken as prisoner to Naxos. In a letter addressed to a friend he tells how he had been on a vessel sailing through many islands for a period of three months. Finally the ship with its prisoner docked at Naxos, allowing the pope to spend a year there. The pope complained, "During that time I was allowed to go two or three times to the baths. I stayed in that city for a year in a private house."<sup>14</sup> When he writes he has been forty-seven days without a bath, neither cold nor hot water has been provided. Day and night, he sighs, he has some affliction. Martin eventually met his death as a martyr, in the Crimea.<sup>15</sup>

In 727 at the beginning of the Iconoclast controversy Thira, now named Santorini by the Christians, had another volcanic explosion, serving notice that upheavals would soon follow. In

<sup>13</sup> *The Chronicle of Theophanes* (Harry Turtledove, trans., Philadelphia, 1982), p. 140. See also Arnold J. Toynbee, *Constantine Porphyrogenitus and His World* (London, 1973), p.533.

<sup>14</sup> *Epistulae*, in J.P. Migne, *Patrologiae cursus completus: scriptores latini* (221 vols., Paris, 1844-64), CXXVI, 681.

<sup>15</sup> Joseph Dakronia, "Ὁ ἐπὶ ἑν ἔτος περιορισμὸς τοῦ Πάπα Μαρτίνου Α' εἰς Νάξον, 653-654," *Ἐπετηρὶς τῆς Ἑταιρείας Κυκλαδικῶν Μελετῶν*, VIII (1970), 395-411. Hereafter *EEKM*.

addition, Muslim Arab fleets roamed the Aegean, meeting little or no resistance. A man named Stephen joined forces with the *theme* of Hellas on the mainland to overthrow the Emperor, Leo III. The seamen of the Cyclades followed Stephen in declaring for Kosmas, an Orthodox pretender. Leo took care of them with a blast of Greek fire and the Cyclades fleet was destroyed. The islands sank back into obscurity, used as a place of exile for iconodules. Possibly at this time the miraculous icon of Tinos, which now gives the island its prominence as a pilgrimage center, was buried by a displaced exile from Constantinople. The next episode of the eighth century was one more disaster, a great plague, starting in Monemvasia and moving into the Aegean, carrying off as many as one-fourth the total population.

The Arab menace, from the ninth century forward, continued to plague the Cyclades. The emperors could do little to protect them. In 815 after a failed revolt in Spain 15,000 Muslims with their women and children, sought refuge in Egypt. Expelled from there, they came to Crete which they used as a base to raid throughout the Aegean. Their leader, Abu-Hassan, founded the city of Candia. In 831 more attacks occurred. The Arab occupation of Sicily, Crete and parts of Italy was a disaster for Byzantine commerce which could no longer navigate safely among the islands. Naxos paid tribute; Paros was so depopulated that hunters from Evvoia came to the island to hunt deer. In 904 another major Arab raid took place, striking Andros, Naxos and Patmos following an attack on Thessalonika.<sup>16</sup>

The Muslims were expelled by the Byzantine Emperor Nikephoros Phokas when he liberated both Crete and the Cyclades. It is probable that he or one of his immediate successors was responsible for building the fortress of Apalyrou on Naxos. Today this castle is a two to three hour walk from the nearest village in

16 M. Canard, "Byzantium and the Muslim World to the Middle of the Eleventh Century," in Vol. IV of the *Cambridge Medieval History: the Byzantine Empire* (J.M. Hussey, ed., Cambridge, 1966), pt.1, 697-735; Kenneth M. Setton, "On the Raids of the Moslems in the Aegean in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries and their Alleged Occupation of Athens," *American Journal of Archaeology*, LVIII, 4 (1954), 311-19.

uninhabited countryside, but in the Middle Ages it was important since the fortress controlled the approach from Potamides (now Alyko) to the interior of the island. It was a strong castle standing on a ridge, in some places surrounded by three walls at a height which gave it a commanding view of the whole of Naxos. A strong tower was located on the north at a location where the wall was six and one-half feet thick.<sup>17</sup>

By the late eleventh century the Cyclades had once more gained a level of prosperity. Population had increased to the point that in 1083 Emperor Alexios Komnenos established an independent metropolitan in the Cyclades with the title *Paro-Naxias*. On the civil level the emperor made Naxos a residence for a *toumarchis* and a *protospatharios*. The islands were a major source of sailors for the emperors' fleet.

There are churches from the Byzantine period all over the Cyclades. Naxos holds at least fifteen. One of the oldest, dedicated to Ayios Mamas, dates from the last years of the ninth century. It belongs to an architectural style known as the inscribed Greek cross plan where the dome is supported by walls, not columns or pilasters. Earlier churches, such as St. Kyriaki near Apirantho, follow the cross in square plan. There is an early basilica at Danakos. Modified in the eleventh or twelfth century, in its final phases it was transformed into a fortified monastery. Naxian churches are of interest since the builders tended to follow precedents on the Anatolian mainland rather than Greece.<sup>18</sup>

No one in the Cyclades was prepared for the events which transpired early in the thirteenth century. A new and lasting foreign invasion was to descend upon the islands from Western Europe commencing a new page in the long history of the Aegean.

<sup>17</sup> N.A. Kephallinidis, "Δύο κάστρα τῆς Νάξου," *EEKM*, IV (1964), 158-69.

<sup>18</sup> George Dimitrokallis, "The Byzantine Churches of Naxos," *American Journal of Archaeology*, LXXII (1968), 283-86.

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## CHAPTER ONE

### *The Origins of the Duchy of the Archipelago*

The history of the Cycladic islands took a dramatic turn early in the thirteenth century as a result of the Latin conquest of Constantinople by the Fourth Crusade. In 1204 the Byzantine ruler Alexios V fled the city leaving his empire to be divided between Venetians and Crusaders. Baldwin I, a knight from Flanders, became the first Latin emperor and Tomasso Morosini, a Venetian, was later chosen to hold the office of patriarch of Constantinople.

A twenty-four-member committee, twelve Venetians and twelve Crusaders, decided the boundaries of territories won by the victors. In so far as their negotiations affected the Cyclades the commission constructed a treaty which balanced the interests of the parties. Venice received direct sovereignty over Andros, Emperor Baldwin was assigned Tinos, and the rest of the islands were apparently left unassigned. There is a reference to Dodecanisos, "the twelve islands," in a list of territories found in north-western Greece but these are not to be identified with the Cyclades.<sup>1</sup>

The agreement of October 1204 reached between Venice and the Crusaders was made under the presumption that the whole of the Byzantine Empire would eventually pass to Latin rule. This did not happen. Three states with Greek princes appeared in Nicaea

<sup>1</sup> The treaty of partition is in G.L. Tafel and G.M. Thomas *Urkunden zur älteren Handels- und Staatsgeschichte der Republik Venedig. Fontes Rerum Austriacarum* (3 vols., Vienna, 1856-57) I, 449-86. Robert L. Wolff notes that Dodecanisos refers to the region about little Presepa Lake in northern Greece. See "The Latin Empire of Constantinople" in vol. II of *A History of the Crusades*, ed. Kenneth M. Setton, et al. (2nd ed., Madison, 1969), 191; Antonio Carile, "Partitio terrarum imperii Romanie," *Studi veneziani*, VII (1963), 217-22.

and Trebizond, in Anatolia, and in Epirus on mainland Greece. Moreover the Bulgarian tsar, Kalojan, resented his exclusion in the division of the spoils and began considering how he might take his share. Within several months of the conquest it was obvious that the Latin Empire of Romania was in a precarious position with limited resources at its command.

The Venetians, on other hand, had been sailing the East Mediterranean for centuries and were in a much better position to enforce their part of the settlement. They knew Constantinople well and while the Crusaders, for the most part, had no intention of making permanent homes in the Orient, the citizens of the Republic of St. Mark welcomed the opportunity to live abroad. It would be the Venetians, not the Crusaders, who decided the future of the Cyclades.<sup>2</sup>

### *Marco Sanudo*

Among the Venetians who accompanied the Fourth Crusade was Marco Sanudo, a nephew of the Venetian doge, Enrico Dandolo. Once the conquest ended, Sanudo was appointed a judge on the city's consular court (*giudice del comun*). He also served the Republic as a commissioner when Venice negotiated the purchase of Crete from the Crusader, Boniface of Montferrat.<sup>3</sup>

The Venetians were anxious to take up their positions in the Orient as soon as possible. They feared that the Genoese, their implacable rivals, would shortly be on the scene to stake out a share of Byzantine territories for themselves. Their apprehension was proven correct; word arrived in Constantinople that a Genoese fleet was at sea. Probably in the early months of 1205 Sanudo, with the approval of his uncle and presumably with the Emperor Baldwin's consent, equipped eight galleys at his own expense and sailed into the Aegean to thwart the plans of the Genoese.

<sup>2</sup> Paolo Morosini, *Historia della Città e Repubblica di Venetia* (Venice, 1637), 160-62; Bruno Dudan, *Il Domino Veneziano di Levante* (Bologna, 1938), pp.29-30.

<sup>3</sup> Tafel and Thomas, *Urkunden*, I, 512-15; Kenneth Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant, 1204-1521* (4 vols., Philadelphia 1976-84), I, 17-18.



He directed his fleet southwards arriving off the coast of western Naxos where he anchored in Potamides harbor. Several miles inland the castle of Apalyrou stood guard over the island held, as Sanudo had been informed, by Genoese pirates and their Greek allies. According to one tradition Sanudo burned his boats, Cortez-like, to demonstrate his resolve.

His men took up the siege which lasted some five weeks. Then Apalyrou's defenders surrendered and Sanudo's men occupied the fortress. Once it fell the Venetians had a clear victory; no further resistance was offered them on Naxos.<sup>4</sup>

Sanudo's conquest had to be confirmed in Constantinople. When he returned to the capital, however, he discovered that his uncle Enrico Dandolo had died during his absence. Moreover Emperor Baldwin was missing in action after a battle with the Bulgarians and it was afterwards learned that he was dead. The Venetians chose an interim successor to Dandolo, Podestà Marino Zeno, and it was to him that Sanudo reported. Zeno and the council of Venetians who advised him agreed that the expedition against Naxos should be rewarded. Sanudo might keep his island in his own name. The podestà made only one stipulation: no territories taken by a Venetian should ever be alienated to an enemy of the Republic.<sup>5</sup> In early July Sanudo, with a companion, Pietro Michiel, left for Venice to inform the city of Doge Dandolo's death and to speak with authorities of his future plans.<sup>6</sup>

When the city authorities learned of Dandolo's death, they proceeded to the election of a new doge. Sanudo was among the

<sup>4</sup> Several conflicting manuscripts relate Sanudo's exploits. John Knight Fotheringham examined them in the Venetian libraries and based his sequence of events on that of Daniele Barbaro. Marcianus Library It., VII, 790, which he felt to be the most reliable. See Fotheringham, *Marco Sanudo, Conqueror of the Archipelago* (Oxford, 1915), pp. 57-59. The opinion that Apalyrou was then the Naxian capital is to be dismissed. A visit to the region has confirmed there was no city nearby. See also Perikleos Zerlentes, "Ναξία, νήσος καὶ πόλις," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, XI (1902), 496-97.

<sup>5</sup> Tafel and Thomas, *Unkunden*, I, 558; Roberto Cessi, *Storia della Repubblica di Venezia* (2 vols., Milan, 1968), I, 203-04.

<sup>6</sup> This sequence of events follows Fotheringham's account, *Sanudo*, pp. 47-56.

electors who decided on Pietro Ziani. Since it was obvious that the Republic could not even hold all the lands assigned it in the Partition Treaty, Ziani was agreeable to Sanudo's request to occupy the unassigned Cyclades as a private venture. A general permission was given to Venetian citizens to take whatever they could of Byzantine territories so long as these were not of major importance to the Republic. Sanudo then sent envoys to Constantinople to consult with the newly-crowned Henry of Flanders, who had replaced his brother as Latin emperor. This was essential for his project since the Cyclades were not, except for Andros, assigned to Venice and therefore could not be disposed of unilaterally by the Republic.

Before his agents returned word reached Venice that a Genoese expedition had landed on Crete and was fortifying the island. Venice immediately outfitted a fleet to dislodge its opponents. Sanudo accompanied this force, postponing his own project, since Crete in Genoese hands would undermine his position on Naxos. The Venetians were successful, Sanudo returned to Constantinople to be confirmed in his plans by Emperor Henry. In 1207 he was at last ready to proceed with the construction of his island empire.

### *The Conquest of the Aegean*

The occupation of the Cyclades would make Sanudo master of the Archipelago, the name the Venetians gave to the Aegean (from the Greek *Aiyaion Pelagos*). He was not, however, the only Italian adventurer who sought his fortune among the islands. According to the chronicle of Andrea Dandolo, "And sailing separately Marco Sanudo with his followers acquired the islands of Nisia, Parius, Mellus, and Saint Herinus and Marino Dandolo took possession of Andre . . . . In like manner Andrea and Geremia Gisio the islands of Thinos, Scheria, Scopulus and Schiatus."<sup>7</sup>

<sup>7</sup> The latter three islands are in the Northern Sporades, now Skiathos, Skopelos, and Skiros. Dandolo's account is the sole source for the 1207

There is no mention of resistance to the Venetian conquest of the Cyclades. Apparently all that was required of the Latins was to sail their galleys into the island harbors and announce they had come to stay.

The ease with which this was accomplished may need some explanation. First was the consideration that many islanders despaired of any protection from the Byzantine emperors at a time when the Aegean swarmed with pirates. Assigned to govern the Cyclades was Leon Gabalas, whose capital was Rhodes. He had declared himself "Lord of the Cyclades" during the confusion that struck the Empire in the early years of the thirteenth century. While anxious to make sure that taxes were collected, Gabalas did nothing to stop the Genoese and Turkish pirates from pillaging the whole of the Aegean.

Secondly, it was well known that Sanudo scrupulously avoided any conflict with native Greeks, respected their customs and showed their leaders, the island *archontes*, that he intended no social revolution. Finally, Sanudo would have been seen by many as a Venetian captain working on behalf of his city. Venice had the only fleet strong enough to halt piracy and if Sanudo could promise its use on their behalf there were few islanders who would reject it. These factors, when combined, resulted in the remarkably swift and peaceful occupation of the Cyclades.

In addition to Naxos, Paros, Milos, and Santorini, which Dandolo mentions as islands taken by Sanudo, over the years he added Antiparos, Kimolos, Amorgos, Ios, Kithnos, Sikinos, Sifnos, Folegandros, and Siros. Marino Dandolo held Andros and the Ghisi brothers Tinos, Mikonos, and nearby Delos. Other Venetians who became island lords included Leonardo Foscolo who took the small island of Anafi and an unknown Venetian who acquired Astipalaea. Santorini, ancient Thira, and its neighbor Therasia although within Sanudo's realm, had Giacomo Barozzi

expedition. His chronicle is to be found in Lodovico Muratori, *Rerum italicarum scriptores* (E. Pastorello, ed., 25 vols. in 28, Milan, 1723-51), XII, I, 282. See also W. Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant au moyen âge* (2 vols., Leipzig, 1885-86), I, 270; Silvano Borsari, *Studi sulle Colonie Veneziane in Romania nel XIII secolo* (Naples, 1966) pp. 35-38, 40-42.

for its actual master. Kea, the island closest to the Greek mainland, and Serifos were both divided into four sections: Pietro Giustiniani and Domenico Michiel each held a quarter and the Ghisi brothers one-half. Thus were the Cyclades divided by the sons of Venice forming Western Europe's first colonial society in the Greek homeland.

### *Organizing the Duchy of the Archipelago*

Possibly by 1210 the major islands if not all the Cyclades had fallen into Latin hands and it was time to confirm the Latin lords in their new possessions. Emperor Henry of Flanders agreed to make the Venetians' possessions fiefs of Romania. He gave Sanudo the title Duke of the Archipelago.<sup>8</sup>

Sanudo's relation to the emperor was the same as the other island lords had to him. With the possible exception of the Ghisi who enjoyed an independent position, the others were vassals of his duchy just as he owed service to the Latin emperor. They had obligations to him as he had responsibilities, primarily military, to Emperor Henry. By becoming an imperial vassal rather than holding his territories under Venice Sanudo escaped becoming one more governor of the Republic of St. Mark. It was a wise move on his part that allowed him much greater freedom in his duchy.<sup>9</sup>

Sanudo organized his island's government according to concepts borrowed from Western feudalism. His seems to have been the only family on Naxos that could be considered to have fallen within the ranks of Venetian nobility, so it was to the men who served in his army and navy that he distributed political posts. His followers became the social elite, the *feudati* or

<sup>8</sup> The two histories of the Archipelago were written by Jesuit missionaries stationed on Naxos who drew on both written documents now lost and oral testimony. The larger is by Robert Sau[il]ger, *Histoire nouvelle des anciens ducs et autres souverains de l'Archipel* (Paris, 1699), and the smaller by Ignace Lichtle, "Description de l'île de Naxos." Lichtle's manuscript was edited and published by William Miller in *Byzantinisch-neugriechische Jahrbücher*, VI (1927-28), 432-50. Hereafter *BJ*.

<sup>9</sup> Silvano Borsari, *Studi sulle Colonie Veneziane in Romania nel XIII secolo* (Naples, 1966), pp.38-40.

*feudatori*, who lived off the revenues of their estates. The Latins on Naxos and on the other islands of the Archipelago, once ordinary seamen or sailors, became knights and sergeants, taking on an importance they had never before experienced. They owed military service and were obligated to attend the duke's court when summoned, but their newly enhanced positions gave them lives of leisure the rest of the year. News of opportunities to be found in the Cyclades travelled back to Western Europe encouraging other Italians, and also Frenchmen and Spaniards, to emigrate to the East.<sup>10</sup>

The Greek *archontes* of the Cyclades, managing estates known as *pronoias* held on to their properties and were quite content with Sanudo's rule. Of the fifty-six fiefs (in Greek τόποι) found on Naxos, the majority were held by native families. The land grants which both Greeks and Latins owned consisted of mountain pastures and the fields which lay below them. Apparently Sanudo was able to keep the Greek nobility in place since there were sufficient properties vacant or in the public domain making it unnecessary for him to confiscate the *archontes'* lands. This was in contrast to Venetian practice on Crete where the Greek *archontes* who were dispossessed in favor of the Latins would foment rebellions for the next three centuries.

Every indication is that the Greek and Latin upper class got on well, and intermarriage became common. Since few Western families were at first willing to send their daughters to the Cyclades, Latins chose their wives from among the Greek families. Their children grew up bilingual, which may have further cemented relations between Greek and Latin communities on the islands. According to Robert Saulger's history "the wisdom of the duke united them completely."<sup>11</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Peter Topping, *Studies on Latin Greece, A.D. 1205-1715* (London, 1977), XI, 12-13; B.J. Slot, *Archipelagus turbatus. Les Cyclades entre colonisation latine et occupation ottoman, 1550-1718* (2 vols., Istanbul, 1982), I, 45. Slot's excellent work, while concentrating on the Turkish period, contains significant information on the ducal period of the Cyclades.

<sup>11</sup> Saulger, *Histoire*, pp.9-11. On the Gasmouli see D. Kambouroglou, "Περὶ τῶν Γασμούλων τῆς Φραγκοκρατίας," *Πρακτικά τῆς Ἀκαδημίας*

While it is impossible to know the proportion between Greeks and Latins on the Cyclades it is probable that the Latins were never over ten percent of the population. If Naxos had a population of three thousand people at this time, Latins would have been only three hundred. On other islands of Sanudo's realm, the proportion of Latins to Greeks would have been much smaller, closer to five percent or even less. Naxos tended to have a greater proportion of Westerners since it was the largest island of the Cyclades and held the residence of the duke.

Sanudo governed Naxos and Milos personally while sending governors to the other islands. He consulted with the *università*, a council of Greek and Latin retainers similar to the *commune* of Venice. Second in command was his *vicario* who served as his deputy when he was abroad. His military commander was the *megas kapetanios*, the great captain. In addition the council included a treasurer, chancellor, castellan, and judicial officers. Sanudo kept them busy; he was a restless individual and constantly sought ways to enlarge his domain to create a thalassocracy which would have made a Minos happy.<sup>12</sup>

It is a matter of some dispute whether or not Latin rule meant a severe dislocation for the island peasantry. Nineteenth century Greek historians argued that the Westerners were severe taskmasters, relegating the majority of natives to the status of serfs whose lives were now embittered by forced labor for their foreign masters. Recent studies, however, conclude that even before the Latin conquest the majority of the population were *paroikoi*, families tied to the soil by Byzantine law. The Latin conquest would probably not have brought them any additional burdens. It was possible for free peasants to retain their position, entering into contracts with the large landowners on common agreements dealing with the disposition of their crops.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Ἀθηνᾶν, IV (1929), 24. He claims it joins the word for bastard and mule. More probably it combines *garçon* and *mulus*.

<sup>12</sup> Fotheringham, *Sanudo*, pp.77-78; Slot, *Archipelagus*, pp.50-52.

<sup>13</sup> The standard work on feudalism in the islands is that of Perikleos Zerlentes, *Φεουδαλική πολιτεία ἐν τῇ νήσῳ Νάξῳ* (Hermoupolis, 1923). A more recent study is by Freddy Thiriet, "La condition paysanne et les problèmes

The greater security brought by the Latins and the presence of the Venetian fleet in the waters about the Cyclades enhanced commerce. Island products, wheat, wine and olive oil could be shipped out of the region to far away markets raising the standard of living for everyone. Apparently there were few island landowners who did not also have their hand in shipping and exporting so as to supplement their income.

### *The Cretan Adventure and the Attack on Nicaea*

Within a year of Sanudo's consolidation of his empire he is found again intruding into Cretan affairs. Once more a Geneose captain, Enrico Pescatore, had landed on Crete frightening Venetian authorities into fielding an expedition to drive the intruder out. Sanudo joined the Venetian force which by 1211 once again repelled the challenge to their sovereignty over the island. In return for his assistance it appears that Venice awarded Sanudo thirty estates on Crete.

The Venetian governor Giacomo Tiepolo confidently occupied Candia on the supposition that all was well. However, armed resistance to the Venetians again exploded, this time led by dispossessed Greek *archontes* anxious to regain their lands. Tiepolo, hard pressed, sent word to Sanudo to bring the Naxian army to Crete.

In June 1212 the duke captaining a force of both Latins and Greeks arrived on the island. To Tiepolo's surprise he heard the cry, "Long live St. Mark and long live Sanudo, king of Candia!" Sanudo had joined the rebellion, hoping to profit from the uprising. The Naxians with their Greek allies were soon in control of the whole island except for the castle at Rethimnon, to which Tiepolo had escaped. Sanudo's failure to gain Rethimnon allowed Venice to send reinforcements which convinced him that his ploy had been checked.

An honorable peace was arranged. Sanudo assured Venetian de l'exploitation rurale en Roumanie vénitienne," *Studi Veneziani*, IX (1969), 35-69.

authorities he never intended adding Crete to his duchy and was content to give up any claims he may have had on the island. Venice gave him a payment of 2500 *hyperpera*, 3000 bushels of wheat and 2000 of barley. Twenty Greek *archontes* who had been involved in the revolt were pardoned and allowed to leave with him. For his part Sanudo took an oath he would never return to Crete without the doge's permission. Venice's easy terms were the result of caution; the Republic did not want to make Sanudo into a permanent enemy. His services might well be needed in the future.<sup>14</sup>

Sanudo's aspirations according to several chronicles then turned to warring against the Nicene emperor, Theodore Laskaris. Although the details are murky, this expedition makes sense since Henry of Flanders was usually fighting Laskaris and Sanudo, as Henry's vassal, may have been called into action. The duke's forces took Smyrna, an important naval base of the Nicene emperor. Laskaris then directed his navy, thirty galleys strong, to oust the duke's fleet. Sanudo not only saw his navy routed but he himself was captured possibly and held prisoner for a time. Sanudo's name also appears as accompanying Emperor Henry of Flanders in an expedition against Theodore Komnenos of Epirus.

### *The Naxos Castro*

The duke's most lasting contribution to Naxos was his construction of a new capital on the sea. He wisely chose the then abandoned site of ancient Naxos, Lygdamis' capital, to be his own. It had an adequate, if not superior, harbor for his galleys. Sanudo directed the building of a breakwater so as to afford greater protection to ships while at anchor. The small chapel of Myrtidiotissa rests on the foundation of Sanudo's construction.

On the hill that rose above the harbor, the acropolis of ancient

<sup>14</sup> Tafel and Thomas, *Urkunden*, II, 159-66; Saulger, *Histoire*, pp.15-22. See also William McNeill, *Venice, the Hinge of Europe, 1081-1797* (Chicago, 1974) pp. 32-3 and Peter Topping, "Coexistence of Greeks and Latins in Frankish Morea and Venetian Crete," *XVe Congrès International des études byzantines, Histoire* (Athens, 1976), I, 10.



Naxos, Sanudo built his castro, a fortified city surrounded by strong walls complete with a series of towers. Inside the castro he had a palace built, a portion of whose donjon still remains, of rubble stone and discarded blocks. In addition he commissioned a Catholic cathedral, dedicated to Mary's Annunciation, and possibly a ducal chapel constructed in Gothic style.<sup>15</sup>

The streets of the castro were lined with houses of the Latin community, while outside the walls, towards the harbor, the Greeks of the capital settled in the Bourgo and the nearby Neochorio. Today it is still possible to enter Sanudo's city through one of its three gates and to explore the narrow streets where the Latin knights of the thirteenth century made their home. Sanudo's palace was occupied by the Turks in the sixteenth century and by the time that Ignace Lichtle wrote his history of Naxos around 1800 it had fallen into ruins.<sup>16</sup>

### *The Religious Settlement*

Sanudo and his fellow Venetians were all Latin Catholics and even though he wanted to keep on good terms with his Greek subjects he did not intend converting to the Byzantine church. The Latins felt their Catholicism to be the superior form of Christianity and stressed their allegiance to it. Some historians claim that the Greek metropolitan of Paro-Naxos was left in place, but there are no names extant in the episcopal lists of this period, hence the likely possibility that no Greek bishop lived on Naxos after the conquest. The Latins were nervous over the loyalty of the Greek hierarchs, fearful that their allegiance was to Nicaea rather than Naxos. Venice never allowed a Greek bishop in its territories. An elected *protopapas* was the highest rank for a Greek cleric. Ayios Mamas near Potamia, which served as the Byzantine cathedral, became the property of the Latin Church and revenues

<sup>15</sup> Saulger, *Histoire* pp. 22-23. The actual date of the construction of the present chapel is unknown. In later times it received a special icon, the Panayia Ponemni, which was carried in the Good Friday procession.

<sup>16</sup> Lichtle, "Description," in Miller, *BJ*, 433-34.

which came from its lands now went into the Catholic treasury.<sup>17</sup>

There is general agreement in the sources that in 1208 Sanudo requested Pope Innocent III to send him a Catholic bishop for Naxos. His name is unknown. The second occupant of the bishopric, Stephen, held office after Sanudo's death, from 1243 to 1253. Other Latin ecclesiastics in the Cyclades displaced the Greek incumbents on Siros, Santorini, and Milos, transferring episcopal properties for their support. Kea and Andros also received Latin bishops who were suffragans of Athens' archbishop rather than Paro-Naxos. The Latin clergy who came to the islands in the thirteenth century were few. Their churches were entirely made up of Western emigrants so that their congregations were quite small. It is probable that on some islands the bishop was the sole Catholic cleric in residence.<sup>18</sup>

Orthodox pastors and monks in the several Cycladic monasteries were not troubled in their office or property so long as they cooperated with the Latin rulers. Catholic bishops became their superiors and they were expected to commemorate the pope in the *diptychs* of the Liturgy as well as the Latin patriarch of Constantinople. This would have put no great strain on their consciences since very few clerics in the islands would have been aware of a serious schism on doctrinal matters dividing the churches. The division was cultural. The Latin church in the Aegean was a foreign body. This was well known to the native Greeks who must have resented being regarded as second-class Christians by the Western elite.

There is some confusion over Sanudo's family. The chroniclers

<sup>17</sup> G. Parthey, *Hieroclis Synecdemus et notitae graecae episcopatum, accedunt Nili Doxopatrii notitia patriarchatum et locorum nomina immutata* (Berlin, 1866), pp.219-300; Saulger, *Histoire*, p.11. See also Demetrios Paschalis, "Ἡ δυτικὴ ἐκκλησία εἰς τὰς Κυκλάδας ἐπὶ Φραγκοκρατίας," *Ἀνδριακά Χρόνικαδ*, I-II (1948), 5-17.

<sup>18</sup> Emmanuel Remounidou, "Κατάλογος Λατίνων Ἀρχιεπισκόπων καὶ Μητροπολιτῶν Νάξου, 1252-1274," *Ἑραλδική καὶ Γενεαλογικὴ Ἑταιρεία Ἑλλάδος*, III (1982), 126-27; Giorgio Fedalto, *La Chiesa Latina in Oriente* (3 vols., 1973-78), II, 163 and by the same author, "La Chiesa Latina nei Domini Veneziani del Levante," *Studi Veneziani*, XVII-XVIII (1973-76), 88.

affirm that he had married the emperor's sister. The problem is which emperor -- the Latin or the Greek? Despite the legend that he wedded a lady from Nicaea after his supposed imprisonment, a stronger probability is that his wife was Angela, sister of Baldwin of Flanders, the first Latin ruler of Constantinople. It is known that he had two sons, Angelo and Giovanni.<sup>19</sup>

When he died of a long fever, "a prudent and just man" according to Saulger, he was probably in his seventies. The date of his death is given as 1228, although Saulger records his death eight years earlier. His son Angelo succeeded him as duke.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>19</sup> Slot, *Archipelagus*, I, 59-64.

<sup>20</sup> Saulger, *Histoire*, p.20; John L. La Monte, "Chronology of the Latin Orient," *Bulletin of the International Committee of Historical Sciences*, XII, 2, no. 47 (1943), 185.



## CHAPTER TWO

### *The Archipelago Under the Sanudi Dukes*

Marco Sanudo left his son Angelo a stable and well-governed duchy. Angelo, who had been recognized as heir even while his father was still living, understood that his position as Duke of the Archipelago required him to balance the many forces then shaping the direction of events in the Eastern Mediterranean. While fulfilling his obligations as a vassal of the Latin emperor he had to be very careful not to alienate Venice. On the other hand, the Byzantine emperors of Nicaea were growing stronger, hence a need to keep a watchful eye on events in Anatolia. As leader of a small nation, based upon widely separated islands, Angelo placed his confidence in alliances with the Latin Empire and the Principality of Achaia.

Naxian galleys provided important support for the flagging Latin Empire in Constantinople which found its strength challenged by Greek leaders in Epirus and Nicaea as well as the Bulgarian tsar. It was against John III Vatatzes, the able emperor of Nicaea, that Angelo Sanudo was most effective since, after 1225, the major islands of Samos, Chios, and Lesbos were once again occupied by Byzantine forces. Naxian ships patrolled the seas lest their own territory be lost to Nicaea. In a number of encounters with the Greeks Angelo's military abilities were proven.<sup>1</sup>

At the same time the duke kept an eye on Cretan affairs remembering how close his father had come to winning the island. In 1230 one more revolt on Crete allowed Angelo to intervene with a Naxian force. He landed at Suda and began fortifying his position. News then reached him that Vatatzes' fleet was poised for an attack upon the Archipelago in his absence. There is some

<sup>1</sup> Robert Saulger, *Histoire*, pp. 33-44.

suspicion that there was a quiet agreement between Sanudo and the Byzantines, sealed by Vatatzes' agents armed with gold, that caused Angelo to issue orders for his men to depart. In the end Venetian strength proved sufficient to overcome the native Cretans so that Angelo's defection made no significant difference in the final outcome. Venice subsequently stepped up its colonization efforts on Crete in order to frustrate any further challenges to its rule. Some 3500 Italians settled on Crete from 1211 to 1252 at a time when Venice itself held but 60,000 inhabitants. The dukes of Naxos were never again tempted to intervene on Crete.<sup>2</sup>

Meanwhile Angelo had married into the Saint-Menehoulds, a French family of Champagne. He and his wife had three children: Marco, Marino, a second son and a daughter who married Paolo Navigajoso, the lord of Lemnos. Marco was to be his heir, Marino was given Paros and Antiparos for his domain.<sup>3</sup>

When Vatatzes attacked Rhodes in his attempt at rebuilding the Byzantine Empire, Sanudo stood aside. The Nicene emperor easily overran the forces of Leon Gabalas, "Lord of the Cyclades". Vatatzes therefore removed a potential rival to the Archipelago duchy. On the other hand the increasing power of Nicaea could not be considered of little concern in a part of the world where armies rather than diplomacy solved out-standing issues.

Vatatzes and the Bulgarian Tsar John Asen II reached an agreement in 1235 to jointly attack Constantinople. John of Brienne, the Latin emperor, called on all his vassals to come to the city's aid. Angelo brought Naxian galleys to join the Latin emperor's navy while Geoffrey II of Villehardouin, lord of Achaia, furnished his knights to defend the capital. The Latin Empire survived, not so much because it was the stronger, but because John Asen changed sides. Angelo Sanudo was involved in the negotiations which led to a truce.<sup>4</sup>

The duke engaged in several other campaigns after his participa-

<sup>2</sup> Flaminio Cornaro, *Creta sacra* (2 vols., Venice, 1755), II, 263.

<sup>3</sup> La Monte, "Chronology," p.185.

<sup>4</sup> Robert Wolff, "The Latin Empire," II, 243.

tion in the Constantinople campaign. In 1247 he joined Guillaume of Villehardouin when the prince of Achaia besieged Monemvasia and in an attack on the Tsakonians, a tribe of the Taygetus mountains. A year later, in 1248, Emperor Baldwin II, gave the lordship of the Archipelago to the principality of Achaia, making Angelo a vassal of the Villehardoin prince.<sup>5</sup>

Twelve years Angelo was enlisted in a military campaign on be-half of a coalition formed by the prince of Achaia to challenge Nicaea one more time. The Byzantine and Latin armies met in the valley of Pelagonia in what proved to be a major disaster for the Latins. Both Guillaume of Villehardouin and Angelo were taken prisoner along with many other Latin knights. Subsequently the Byzantines released Angelo in time to return to Naxos to watch the final drama, the fall of Constantinople in 1261, powerless to aid his lord.<sup>6</sup>

Angelo sent his wife and young son Marco II to meet with the deposed Latin emperor, Baldwin II, on his way into exile. Baldwin received them warmly in Thebes and made Marco a knight of the empire, the highest honor that could be given to a vassal. The circumstances, however, made it but a gesture.<sup>7</sup>

### *Marco Sanudo II*

Marco II became the third duke of the Archipelago at a time when the Latin principalities of the Aegean world were in great disarray. As a boy he had spent much of his life at Andreville the capital of the Principality of Achaia and had practiced the skills of the knight at Clairmont castle nearby.

Achaia had been taken when Geoffrey of Villehardouin joined Guillaume of Champlitte in 1205 on a campaign to conquer the

<sup>5</sup> Saulger, *Histoire*, pp. 45-51; David Jacoby, *La féodalité en Grèce médiévale: les "Assises de Romanie" sources, application et diffusion* (Paris, 1971), pp. 22-23.

<sup>6</sup> Ostrogorsky, *History*, pp.449-52.

<sup>7</sup> Saulger, *Histoire*, pp. 52-57; William Miller, *Latins in the Levant* (Cambridge, 1908), pp. 573-74; Freddy Thiriet, *La Romanie vénitien au moyen âge* (Paris, 1959), pp. 144-45.

Greek Peloponnesus. Bypassing Acrocorinth, the strongest citadel of the area, they rode towards Patras. Thence the five hundred Frankish knights moved southwards into the fertile plain of Elis (near ancient Olympia). Here they founded Andreville, now Andravida, to become the Latin capital of the Morea, a name which the Franks eventually gave to the whole Peloponnesus. Three years later Emperor Henry arrived in Greece summoning the Latin knights to a parliament which was held at Ravennika, close by Lamia. Here he accepted Geoffrey of Villehardouin's homage (possibly Marco I Sanudo's as well) and by 1210 Geoffrey could style himself Prince of Achaia. All of the Morea was his except for Byzantine Monemvasia and the Venetian ports of Modon and Coron. Twelve great barons shared in the administration of the Peloponnesus, ranked according to feudal law, each with his own castle.

It was about 1220 when Geoffrey decided on constructing a great fortress to guard the approach to Andreville. He called it Clairmont; it still stands guard over the Elian plain as the castle of Chlemoutsi. In order to pay for its building Geoffrey laid a heavy tax on the Latin clergy of the Morea since they refused to provide him military service and claimed exemption from the land tax. This gained him an excommunication from the Latin patriarch which the duke shrugged off until he completed the project three years later.

The port for Frankish Greece, where young Marco Sanudo would have landed on his coming to the Morea was Clarence, now Glarentza. For a time it was the busiest commercial center in all Greece, but today is little more than several stones piled one upon the other.

The remains of Andreville have not fared much better. Only the eastern part of the church of Ayia Sophia, possibly the cathedral of the Latin bishop, are extant. The church was built in French Gothic style as a rectangular basilica with three naves and two side chapels. Here the young prince of the Archipelago attended the assemblies of barons called by the prince which met inside the



church. Court life at Andreville was noted for its richness. Marco would have added French to his vocabulary. "It is said that the noblest chivalry in the world was that of the Morea and the French Language spoken there as pure as in Paris."<sup>8</sup> So confident were the knights who lived in Andreville of their strength that the city was never walled.<sup>9</sup>

During his captivity Guillaume of Villehardouin swore allegiance to Emperor Michael Palaeologos and promised to serve as his deputy in the Peloponnesus but the pope released Guillaume from his oath and war soon broke out between Achaia and Constantinople. Venice supported Guillaume with its fleet since the Republic still entertained hopes that the Byzantine occupation of Constantinople might be a temporary one. Marco II's Naxian duchy was now subject to constant attack from the Byzantine fleet led by Michael VIII's Grand Admiral, Alexis Philanthropenos. The Greeks put parties ashore on Naxos, Paros and Kea and on some of the smaller islands the invaders fortified themselves for a permanent stay. "The fleet sailed and the sailors took the islands and put Greek garrisons on them. They were therefore joined to the Empire which up till then had been under the Latins."<sup>10</sup>

Philanthropenos' gains at Latin expense caused rebellion to break out on Milos. Urged on by a Greek monk who wanted the Latins removed, for several weeks the revolution was successful. Then Marco II landed on the island, beseiged the rebel stronghold and quickly quelled the insurgents. He pardoned all but the monk who was bound hand and foot and thrown into the sea.

By 1265 Michael Palaeologos was ready for a truce with Venice which brought their conflict to an end. Venetian trading privileges were renewed and Philanthropenos recalled. This eased the

<sup>8</sup> *The Chronicle of Mutaner* (2 vols., Lady Goodenough, trans., London, 1920), CCLXI.

<sup>9</sup> The history of the Principality of Achaia is presented in the *Chronicle of the Morea* in four different language versions. The latest English translation is by Harold E. Lurier (New York, 1964). The archaeology has been studied, with illustrations, in Antoine Bon, *La Morée franque* (2 vols., Paris, 1969).

<sup>10</sup> George Pachymeres, *De Michaelē et Andronico Palaeologis*, XII, 2 in *Corpus scriptorum historiae byzantinae* (Bonn, 1835), I, 204-05. Hereafter CSHB.

pressure on Naxos, allowing Marco to regain a portion of his lost possessions.

There was also trouble closer to home. It seems that the Greek mothers living in the Drymalian plain of Naxos had a tradition which annoyed the duke. When a child was born, they took it to a chapel dedicated to St. Pakhomios, but which the locals knew as Ayios Pachys — "St. Fat" in Greek — and passed it through a hollow altar to put some pounds on the baby. Marco considered this outright superstition and to stop it ordered the chapel and its altar destroyed. The natives were appalled and threatened rebellion. The duke's response was to build a castle nearby to keep an eye on them. The ruins of this fortress, now known as Apanokastro, are still extant, testifying to the duke's intolerance. His actions violated the general policy of his father and grandfather which sought to avoid any friction with Greek sensibilities.<sup>11</sup>

Meanwhile events in Italy were at work to change the situation in the Eastern Mediterranean. Charles of Anjou, brother of Louis IX, King of France, overthrew the Sicilian king and established a much stronger and aggressive state in southern Italy. Baldwin II, having exhausted all of his attempts to regain his lost empire met with Charles in May 1267. At Viterbo, where the papal court of Clement IV was in residence, Baldwin made over all his rights and those of his daughter with few exceptions to Charles. Guillaume II of Villehardouin was represented at Viterbo by his chancellor. Guillaume had exhausted his land's strength in interminable wars against Byzantine forces in the Morea. Therefore he gave instructions to his chancellor to agree that upon his death his territories would also pass to Charles of Anjou. In return for these grants Charles promised that within the next six years he would lead an army of six thousand men to Greece to regain the lost Latin Empire. To cement this accord one of Charles' sons would marry

<sup>11</sup> Saulger, *Histoire*, pp.78-81; Lichtle, "Description," believes Apanokastro was built about 1390. The wall of the citadel measured 120 m. by 50 m. It held a chapel, Panayia Kastrianis, with a famous icon depicting Our Lady of the Angels.

a daughter of Baldwin II and a second son would wed Isabelle of Villehardouin, daughter of Guillaume II.<sup>12</sup>

The plans of the Angevin monarch went awry during the following decade due to his reluctant participation in his brother's crusade against Tunis and a change in papal policy which forced him to stay at home. Pope Gregory X successfully bargained with Michael Palaeologos so that a union of the Latin and Greek churches could be proclaimed at Lyon in July 1274. Charles had to agree to call off his invasion and Venice sought peace with Byzantium.

This turn of events allowed the Byzantines to launch new military and naval attacks against the Latins in Greece. An Italian captain, Licario, who had been lord of Karystos in southern Evvoia went into the service of Michael VIII. Named Grand Admiral, he followed in the footsteps of Philanthropenos ravaging the Cyclades and again ousted the Latin lords who still held on in the smaller islands. Marco II could do nothing to stop him – one by one his vassals took shelter on Crete or on Naxos itself. The Archipelago crumbled: only Naxos, Milos and Siros were saved. Venice protected Andros, thanks to its treaty with Constantinople.<sup>13</sup>

In 1277 the Venetians renewed their agreement with Constantinople and graciously included the Cyclades in the pact this time. By promising to keep only what few islands remained in their hands the Sanudi and Ghisi were rescued from utter collapse. Marco's legacy was also assisted by a change in sovereigns. In 1278 Guillaume II Villehardouin died and the conditions of the Viterbo treaty went into effect. The Duchy of the Archipelago received a new sovereign, Charles of Anjou.

Charles sent envoys to the Latin princes in Greece to inform them of what had occurred and to make sure of their loyalty. His

<sup>12</sup> Emile G. Leonard, *Les Angevins de Naples* (Paris, 1954), pp.104-16; Rennell Rodd, *The Princes of Achaia and the Chronicle of Morea* (2 vols., London, 1907), I, 241; Lichtle, "Description," p.435.

<sup>13</sup> Marino Sanudo Torsello, *Istoria del Regno di Romania* in Karl Hopf, *Chroniques gréco-romanes inédites au peu connues* (Berlin, 1873), p.179; Thiriet, *Romanie vénitien*, p.151.

*bailie*, Galeran d'Ivry met with Marco II, received his act of homage and oath of loyalty. They then discussed how best the Archipelago might be fitted into Charles' plans for the long postponed Greek invasion.<sup>14</sup>

Martin IV, a Frenchman and a willing tool of Charles of Anjou, was elected to the papacy in February 1281. This change allowed serious preparations for the attack to finally begin. Michael Palaeologos had enemies on all sides but he was prepared. The emperor already knew of a plan for an Aragonese attack upon Charles and his agents liberally spread Byzantine gold among Sicilian malcontents. In March 1282 just when Charles thought everything was in readiness a revolt, called the Sicilian Vespers, broke out in Palermo thwarting all his plans. The Greek invasion had to be postponed forever. The Naxian galleys did not leave port.<sup>15</sup>

### *The Quarrel Over Andros*

In the same year of the Sicilian Vespers, Marco II found himself challenged by Venice over his right to govern Andros. From Venice's point of view this island was theirs based upon the 1204 treaty of partition. On the other hand the Andrian lords had always acted independently of their native city and from the perspective of the Naxian dukes, Andros was a vassal state in the same category as the other islands.

Therefore, when Marino Dandolo died, Angelo Sanudo confirmed the right of his widow Felisa to inherit his estate, to be shared equally with Geremia Ghisi. But Geremia was not content. He took the whole island and a crisis was born. Felisa was not to be outdone. She had re-married, this time to Giacomo Querini, who asked the authorities in Venice to oust the Ghisi intruder. Sanudo was aware that "...the Querini were important men in

<sup>14</sup> Stefano Magno, *Estratti degli Annali Venenti* in Hopf, *Chroniques*, p. 179; Sanudo Torsello, *Istoria* in Hopf, *Chroniques*, p.130; Cessi, *Storia della Repubblica I*, 278-86.

<sup>15</sup> For details see Steven Runciman, *The Sicilian Vespers* (Cambridge, 1958).

Venice and had great influence."<sup>16</sup>

Marco wrote to Venice his justification:

At the time of the conquest of the Empire, our grandfather, at his own expense, with the aid of his companions took Andros, Naxos and the other islands of the Archipelago that were dependent on the duchy. After becoming masters of these islands, they then received investiture from the Emperor, as free and unencumbered as any baron of Romania with all the rights, revenues, honors and jurisdiction pertaining to the Duchy. For these islands they took an oath to the Emperor ... We do not know of any rights you hold over this island.<sup>17</sup>

He then placed his claim before the feudal court at Andreville. The justices there ruled in Marco II's favor. Venice held back and respected the decision, knowing full well that if the Republic so desired it could easily assert its authority over Andros, but for the time being it bided its time until all claimants were dead.

Indeed Andronikos II Palaeologos who succeeded his father in 1282, played into Venetian hands when he disbanded the Byzantine navy believing the Genoese would furnish sufficient defense. Adding to the emperor's false sense of security was a renewal of the treaty with Venice in 1285. Once again the Cyclades were included under the Venetian signature. Both parties agreed to take action against piracy. However, the result of throwing the sailors formerly employed in the imperial navy out of work, in fact added to the problem of piracy in the Aegean, something no treaty could stop.<sup>18</sup>

Despite the perils faced by the Latins in the Cyclades they found time to fight among themselves. In 1286 Marco Sanudo went to war with Bartolomeo Ghisi over the possession of a kidnapped

<sup>16</sup> Sanudo Torsello, *Istoria*, in Hopf, *Chroniques*, p.113.

<sup>17</sup> *Pacta Ferrariae*, fol. 96 in Ernest Dugit, "Naxos et les établissements latins de l'Archipel," *Bulletin de l'Académie Delphiniale*, ser. 3, X (1875), 182.

<sup>18</sup> Franz Dölger, *Regesten der Kaiserkunden des oströmischen Reiches* (5 vols., Munich-Berlin, 1960), IV, no. 2104; D.M. Nicol, *The Last Centuries of Byzantium* (London, 1972), p.117.

jackass. It seems that pirates had stolen the beast during a raid on Tinos. They took it to Siros, selling it to Guillelmo Sanudo, son of the duke, who was then acting for his father as governor of Siros. Once the Ghisi heard their jackass was alive they requested Guillelmo to return it. Their pleas were in vain. Guillelmo claimed he had bought it. The Ghisi then sent their fleet to Siros and besieged the island castro. Only when an Angevin fleet made its appearance the Ghisi broke off their attack. No information is had on what finally happened to the jackass after a *bailio* negotiated a settlement.

In 1292 while still recovering from incessant piratical attack from Byzantine-held Serifos and Sifnos, the Archipelago was struck from another direction. The Aragonese had arrived in force in the Aegean and as sworn enemies of the Angevins took out their wrath on the islands held by Marco and the Ghisi. The Spaniards' captain was Roger de Lluria and nothing that Marco could do stopped him from robbing his subjects and their properties. In 1296 a new war between Venice and Andronikos II aided by Genoa erupted, once more bringing the Aegean into turmoil as the contending fleets sailed its seas demanding supplies from hapless islanders. The ousted nobility of the Cyclades used the occasion to regain much of their losses.<sup>19</sup>

At the end of the century a list of the fortified islands included the following: "Andre, Tine, Nicoli (Mikonos) and Sdini (Rheneia), Cea, Lasudha (Siros), Pari, Antipari, Niosea (Ios), Lamcego, (Amorgos)... Serfento (Serifos), Fermente (Kithnos), Sifanto and Mele .... All of these islands have castros and many other islands. Those that do not have castros are not written here."<sup>20</sup>

Marco II's wife's name is unknown. His children were Guillelmo, Francesco who became lord of Milos, and Marco who managed several Sanudi fiefs located on Evvoia. When Marco II

<sup>19</sup> Sanudo Torsello, *Istoria* in Hopf, *Chroniques* p.113; Nicholas Cheetham, *Medieval Greece* (New Haven and London, 1981), pp.229-30.

<sup>20</sup> From a MS called "Insulae Arcopelagi," published in Hopf, *Chroniques*, pp.175-76.

died in 1303, Guillelmo succeeded his father as Duke of the Archipelago.

### *Guillelmo I Sanudo*

Guillelmo I was destined to rule for the twenty years between 1303 and 1323. Two new powers would have had to be reckoned with during his tenure in office, both of them counted as enemies of his duchy. The first was the Catalans, a mercenary army which had been hired by the Byzantine Emperor Andronikos II to fight the second of Guillelmo's opponents, the Seljuk Turks. There was little to choose between them although the Catalans were Christian while the Turks were Muslim.

The Venetians, too, were equally uncomfortable with Catalans and Turks so that during Guillelmo's rule, the Archipelago gained greater importance as a base for the Republic's galleys. On the other hand, since the lords on the smaller islands recognized that Venice was much more powerful than any ruler in Naxos, they preferred more and more to deal directly with the Republic's authorities. It was a costly venture to equip a galley; several hundred men might be employed, and the Archipelago's resources simply were not capable of outfitting a navy which in the better times of the thirteenth century had been a possibility.

The duke sought to bring the Venetians and Genoese together, to lessen the friction between them, encouraged by "an endless peace" which had been signed in 1299. Obviously when forced to choose, he had to follow the Republic's lead since he "... regarded the Venetians with honor."<sup>21</sup>

Guillelmo was not alone in his quest to unite the Christian powers of the Eastern Mediterranean. In 1304 Benedetto Zaccaria, a Genoese who had made his fortune in alum mining, took over administration of Chios, hence placing a stronger power than the faltering Byzantines on the Naxian eastern flank. Moreover Guillelmo personally intervened in the contest between the Knights Hospitallers of St. John and the Turks. In 1309 when the

<sup>21</sup> Saulger, *Histoire*, pp.89-92.

knights' fleet besieged Rhodes he sent several galleys to assist them. Once successful, the dukes invited the knights to build a castle on Delos in the heart of the Archipelago. Apollo's island then stood unguarded, uninhabited, and unloved amidst the ruins of its former glory. The knights accepted this offer and built a castle there. One of Guillelmo's sons joined the knights establishing a bond between the Archipelago and the Knights of St. John which would last until the sixteenth century.<sup>22</sup>

Guillelmo wanted no one to doubt that he should be regarded as the principal figure in the Cyclades. Therefore he was pained to learn that Giacomo Barozzi, lord of Santorini, believed he could dispense with an act of homage given to Naxos. Barozzi was a well-known Venetian and had served as governor of Crete. Nevertheless, Guillelmo acted against him; his galleys intercepted Barozzi while at sea, brought him to Naxos and imprisoned him for insubordination. Barozzi was fortunate to have Venetian authorities intervene and obtain his release.<sup>23</sup>

In May 1304 one of the most colorful displays that ever occurred in Frankish Greece was the result of an invitation sent out by Phillip of Savoy and his wife Isabelle of Villehardouin, prince and princess of Achaia, to all the barons of their domain to attend a tournament at the Isthmus of Corinth. It was the single largest gathering of Latins ever to take place in the country. Over a thousand knights and their ladies were present to witness a lavish display of arms, to feast, and to dance. Guillelmo and his family were naturally present at this gala which lasted for a full three weeks. The tournament gave the lords and ladies of the West their last opportunity to celebrate. A cloud hovered over their rejoicing which they little realized at the time, a cloud foretelling the approach of the Catalans and the Turks.<sup>24</sup>

The background to the Catalan advance into Greece began in

<sup>22</sup> Cheetham, *Medieval Greece*, p.231; Miller, *Latins*, pp.584-85; La Monte, *Chronology* p.185.

<sup>23</sup> Karl Hopf, "Veneto-Byzantinische Analekten," *Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, XXIII (1859), 388. Hereafter SKAW.

<sup>24</sup> William Miller, *Essays on the Latin Orient* (Cambridge, 1921), p.81.



1309 when Gautier of Brienne arrived at Clarence carrying letters from King Robert of Naples and Prince Philip of Taranto that he should be recognized as Duke of Athens. But there was much opposition to his nomination from the local knights and relatives of the Villehardouins. On the other hand a close alliance was formed between the Archipelago and Gautier since Niccolò, son of Guillelmo, married into his family.

At this moment the Grand Company of the Catalans, who had been living from plundering the Byzantine countryside since their dismissal from Constantinople's service, were just appearing in Greece. Gautier enlisted them as mercenaries in his army. They fulfilled their service, then the duke of Athens wanted to be done with them. He was willing to give their leaders and knights lands in Attica but resisted conferring fiefs on all of the army. The Catalans, outraged, decided to settle the matter by force. In March 1311 the Catalan army drew up on swampy ground alongside the Kephissos river where it ran into Lake Kopais. They had eight thousand men counting their Turkish and Greek allies. The duke of Athens had upward of seven hundred knights with gold-tipped spears, certain of victory. Among them, leading the Naxian contingent, was Niccolò, son of Guillelmo. Giorgio Ghisi of Tinos brought his vassals from that island. The Franks charged, but it was into a trap, for their horses became stuck in the soggy ground. The Catalans, armed with crossbows, found them easy targets. So great was the massacre that the Catalan chronicle says only two knights survived. This is an exaggeration. It is true Giorgio Ghisi was killed, but Niccolò Sanudo, although wounded, survived and was taken prisoner. Later he was ransomed, but by this time the Catalans had settled in Athens and shortly afterwards took to the sea as pirates with as much enthusiasm as they had shown as robbers on the land.<sup>25</sup>

For the next decade the Catalans scoured the Aegean, landing whenever they could to rob the island villagers of whatever might

<sup>25</sup> Nikephoros Gregoras, *Ῥωμαϊκή, ἱστορία*, VII, 76 in *CHSB*, I 252-53; Kenneth M. Setton, *Catalan Domination of Athens, 1311-1388* (Cambridge, Mass., 1948), 6-13; *Chronicle of Mutaner*, CCXL.

be carried off on their galleys. They were equally troublesome to Venetian merchantmen who found their ships' crews put into slavery and their cargoes confiscated. Niccolò, as his father's commander, fought them on land and sea with limited resources but it was Venetian diplomacy which eventually promised better times. A treaty between Venice and the Catalans of Athens, signed in 1321, promised that the attacks on the Archipelago would stop.<sup>26</sup>

Meanwhile Guillelmo had not been idle. If he could do little to halt the Catalan attacks he could at least show his rivals the Ghisi their proper place. He commissioned a fleet led by Domenico Schiavo to proceed to Amorgos and to claim it for the Sanudo house. Not unexpected, the Ghisi complained to Venice they had been dispossessed illegally. The Republic's authorities agreed.

They ordered Guillelmo to restore the island to Giovanni and Marco Ghisi at once. The duke protested and a decision was delayed. Venetian courts were never in a hurry so that five years later the issue was still alive. Only in December 1315 Venice at last announced that all the properties of the duke were confiscated until Amorgos should be returned. These sanctions were apparently sufficient to frighten the duke into submission.<sup>27</sup>

### *Niccolò I*

Niccolò I succeeded his father as Duke of the Archipelago in 1323. War was his favorite pastime and he thrived on the distinction that comes from leading armies. Two years after his coming to power, the Prince of Achaia, Jean of Gravina, summoned his barons, including Niccolò as well as Bartolomeo Ghisi, to join him in a campaign through the Morea against Byzantine positions. While in Constantinople civil war was in progress between Andronikos II and his grandson and coemperor Andronikos III, in

<sup>26</sup> Setton, *Catalan Domination*, pp.33-34; *Catalan Chronicle of Francisco de Monedada* (Frances Hernandez, trans., El Paso, 1975) pp.216-19.

<sup>27</sup> Freddy Thiriet, *Délibérations des Assemblées vénitiennes concernant la Roumanie* (2 vols., Paris, 1966-71), I, 191, Nov. 29, 1309; 304, June 20, 1314; 336, Dec. 11, 1315.

the Morea the Greeks were experiencing a more stable and successful administration. The Frankish army to lessen the threat to Latin Greece besieged the castle of Karitaina, which had recently been purchased by the Byzantine emperor. The siege was long and difficult and Jean grew discouraged. He appointed Niccolò commander of the army and left the field. For the next several months Niccolò was busy fighting the Greeks of Elis and then returned home. He was the last Naxian duke to lead an army on the Greek mainland.<sup>28</sup>

Andronikos III could be a friend when his policy was directed against the Genoese. Reversing an earlier decision of his father who saw no problem in allowing the Genoese Zaccaria family to hold Chios, in 1329 Niccolò joined the newly-formed Byzantine fleet in a successful attack which restored Chios to Constantinople's control.<sup>29</sup>

Niccolò's attention was soon focused elsewhere. Turkish ships had been seen in the Aegean for some time, but after 1330 what once were nuisance attacks on ships and islands now became a full-fledged war against the Archipelago. In 1332, a year after the Ottomans had taken Nicaea, three hundred eighty Turkish galleys swept down on the islands with fire and sword.<sup>30</sup> At his death Niccolò could count on one success: the last of the Barozzis had departed Santorini and the island had come under the Naxos, fulfilling the dream of his father.<sup>31</sup>

### *Giovanni I*

At the time of his death in 1341 Niccolò had no heirs, so his brother Giovanni became his successor. In that same year John Kantakuzenos contested the claims of John V Palaeologos and

<sup>28</sup> *Libro de los Fechos et Conquistas del Principado de la Morea* (A. Morel-Fatio, ed., Geneva, 1855), pp.145-47.

<sup>29</sup> Ioannis Kantakuzenos, *Ἱστορία*, *CSHB*, I, 385; Hélène Ahrweiler, *Byzance et la Mer* (Paris, 1966), p.383.

<sup>30</sup> Setton, *Catalan Domination*, p.36.

<sup>31</sup> Miller, *Latins in the Levant*, pp.586-87.

proclaimed himself emperor. This began a new era of civil war in the Aegean world and allowed the Ottoman Turks under Sultan Orchan to prey at will on the faltering Christian powers of the East Mediterranean. Pope Clement VI from Avignon called for a crusade to drive back the Muslims, but received little attention from Western rulers. A coalition of Western powers did rouse themselves sufficiently to hold Smyrna for a time, but little else was accomplished.

Umur Pasha, the emir of Aydin, known as Morbassan by the Greeks, had long been a friend and ally of John Kantakuzenos. Giovanni I, on the other hand, supported John V. Since the duke of the Archipelago supported his rival, Umur's wrath descended upon Naxos. In 1344 a raid on Giovanni's island left six thousand people dead or enslaved, its olive trees burned to the ground, its port in flames, and its cultural life destroyed.<sup>32</sup>

Six years later a new war between Venice and Genoa commenced as a result of the latter's effort to monopolize trade in the Black Sea. Venice formed an alliance with Aragon, Byzantium, and the Duchy of the Archipelago. Although Saulger speaks of Niccolò Sanudo fighting with Venice, he was not alive at the time. It would have been Giovanni who charged against Galata's walls and at another time fought against Caffa, the Genoese port of the Crimea. Once he was stricken by an illness which brought him near death; another time in a sea battle he was wounded by an arrow. In 1351 Genoese galleys landed on Naxos, took Giovanni and his family captive and robbed him of his properties. He was taken off to Genoa where he was held prisoner for three years until peace was arranged between the two cities. During this time Venice guaranteed that on his release his possessions would be returned.<sup>33</sup>

<sup>32</sup> Jules Gay, *Le Pape Clement VI et les affaires d'Orient* (Paris, 1904), pp.10-25; Doukas, *Decline and Fall of Byzantium to the Ottoman Turks* (Henry Magoulas, ed., Detroit, 1975) VII, 1, p.68; Gregoras, *Ῥωμαϊκὴ ἱστορία*, XXI, 22.

<sup>33</sup> Saulger, *Histoire*, pp.110-17. Thiriet; *Délibérations des Assemblées*, II, 614, Nov. 29, 1354; Kenneth Setton, *Papacy and the Levant*, I, 221-23. Pope Clement VI wrote a letter to Genoa on behalf of Giovanni.

*Fiorenza and Spezzabanda*

At the time of Giovanni's death in 1362 his one child was his daughter Fiorenza. At the time she was already a widow, having been married for nine years to Giovanni dalle Carceri, lord of two-thirds of Evvoia. Both Venice and Genoa were very much concerned whom Fiorenza might choose for a new husband since whoever it might be would tip the balance of power between one or the other of the two cities.

Her favorite, the Venetians learned to their dismay, was Nerio Accia-juali, a Florentine whose merchant family had long been established in Corinth. The Venetians did not trust Nerio to support their interests, knowing that his first loyalty was to the Angevin house. The Republic decided on a dramatic move. A Venetian galley was sent to capture the lady and take her to Crete where she was to be persuaded, gently but firmly, she must marry someone favorable to Venetian interests. The Republic's choice was her cousin Niccolò Sanudo, at the time a resident in Evvoia who was known throughout the length and breadth of the Aegean as Spezzabanda (the army destroyer).

Spezzabanda and Fiorenza were married at a crucial time for Venice. Rebels on Crete had deposed the Candian governor and were threatening to establish an independent state. Venice needed troops from both Naxos and Evvoia to suppress the uprising, hence the timeliness of the wedding between Spezzabanda and Fiorenza.<sup>34</sup>

Saulger portrays Spezzabanda as a mighty warrior against all opponents. Upon boarding a Turkish galley he was a whirlwind slashing away with his sword. On a single day he personally killed ten Turkish captains. The Turks, Saulger claimed, had composed a prayer whenever they left harbor, "Deliver us from shipwreck and Spezzabanda."<sup>35</sup>

<sup>34</sup> Spezzabanda helped Venice suppress the revolt on Crete. Thiriet, *Délibérations des Assemblées*, III, 786, Aug. 23, 1365.

<sup>35</sup> Saulger, *Histoire*, p.145-50.

*Niccolò II dalle Carceri*

In 1371 Fiorenza died allowing the son by her first marriage, Niccolò, to receive the Duchy of the Archipelago in his own name. He already had shown himself to be a ruler of no ability and critics agreed that at a time when the Byzantine emperor had become a Turkish vassal the Latins in the Aegean could ill afford such incompetence.

The Venetian authorities on Evvoia contacted one Francesco Crispo, possibly from a family of Verona, that they would not take it amiss if he should attempt to change the situation on Naxos in a drastic way. Crispo apparently was well known for managing a personal fleet of pirates. He was then serving as lord of Milos, since his wife was a niece of the late Giovanni I.<sup>36</sup>

In March 1383 Crispo came to Naxos, all smiles, and suggested a hunt with Duke Niccolò. The duke was happy to oblige. Off they went looking for quarry with a number of other nobles and their men. Beaters went up the mountain to thrash out a deer and everyone seems to have enjoyed the morning. After lunch, it was decided to return to the Naxos castro since the afternoon was so warm. Crispo's men accompanied the duke, while he set off later.

On the journey, at an agreed point, the duke was ambushed. He fell from his horse mortally wounded. The assassins, according to plan rushed back to Crispo claiming they had been set upon by robbers or rebels, they could not be sure. Crispo was shocked – he guessed a rebellion must be afoot so that he should return to the castro to preserve it against the "rebels."<sup>37</sup>

The body of the fallen duke was buried in the church of St. Stephen. Naxos had a new dynasty as Francesco I became the Duke of the Archipelago.

<sup>36</sup> Miller, *Essays*, pp.168-69; La Monte, "Chronology," p.186.

<sup>37</sup> Saulger, *Histoire*, pp.185-95; Stefano Magno, *Annali* in Hopf, *Chroniques*, p.183.

### CHAPTER THREE

#### *The Sanudo Empire*

#### *Milos*

After Naxos Milos held the greatest potential for the Sanudi. A large island, important in both Hellenic and Roman times, Milos had mineral and agricultural resources not found on other Cyclades. Its harbor, located deep inside a bay, far surpassed that of Naxos. The Sanudo dukes often made Milos their home, journeying back and forth between there and the capital.

As on Naxos Marco Sanudo wanted a new capital closer to the sea but one that was also high and secure. Today this is known as Apanokastro, where a fortress was built and a Latin population settled.<sup>1</sup> In 1253 Milos received a Catholic bishop named Paschal, who took up residence in the castro cathedral. He had no successor until 1356, due perhaps to depopulation during the Byzantine raids on the Latin islands. A church, now called Panayia Skiniotissa, still remains and was probably the Latin cathedral. Other extant castro churches are of uncertain date, the most important is Panayia Eleousa. Several Latin churches were built over the centuries on the descent of the mountain between Apanokastro and the town which lay beneath it.<sup>2</sup>

#### *Paros*

Paros is Naxos' closest important island, within sight of the

<sup>1</sup> Ermanno Armao, *In giro per il Mare Egeo con Vincenzo Coronelli* (Florence, 1951), pp.257-59.

<sup>2</sup> Giorgio Fedalto, *La Chiesa Latina*, II, 150; Zapherios Beos, *Ναὸι καὶ ναῦδρια τῆς Μήλου* (Athens, 1964), pp.57-65; B.J. Slot, "Καθολικαὶ ἐκκλησίαι Κιμῶλου καὶ τῶν πέριξ νήσων, ἱστορία τῶν δυτικῶν κοινοτήτων ναυτικῶν κανοτήτων τῶν ΝΔ Κυκλάδων καὶ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν τῶν" *Κιμωλιακά*, V (1975), Appendix 3 and 5.

Sanudo capital. In the ancient world it had become renowned for its excellent marble, a resource which was of little importance in the Middle Ages.

When the Latins came onto Paros, Sanudo left the Ekatontapiliani in Greek hands. Later a Latin altar was installed inside the church. The Catholic bishop, like his Byzantine predecessor, carried the title of both Naxos and Paros. The Latin cathedral dedicated to St. George was built in the nearby castro.

Materials from ancient Paros, especially from a fourth century temple, were used to construct Paroikia's castro which dates from the later thirteenth century. Much of it still remains, a home today for the many pigeons of the island.<sup>3</sup>

The Sanudi held Paros directly under their administration until 1366 when Maria Sanudo, daughter of Fiorenza and duchess of the Archipelago, married Gasparo Sommaripa. Paros and its smaller brother Antiparos made up Maria's dowry. Although the Venetians were unhappy about the change of dynasty — the Sommaripas were from Verona and linked to the Duke of Milan, Gian Galeazzo Visconti — the Sommaripas would hold Paros in their own name for many decades.<sup>4</sup>

### *Ios*

Marco Sanudo allowed Leonardo Foscolo to govern the small island of Ios following his conquest of the Archipelago. After 1252 Leonardo's sons Andrea, then Giovanni, held the same position of vassalage to the duke, interrupted for a time by two Byzantine occupations.

When in the late thirteenth century the admiral of the Archipelago Domenico Schiavo, regained its possession, he held it until his death. Thereupon Duke Niccolò Sanudo governed it directly from Naxos. Ios was lightly populated and at times completely uninhabited. The original castro was situated near the harbor

<sup>3</sup> B.J. Slot, *Archipelagus*, I, 60; H. Eberhard, "Mittelalterliche Burgen auf den Kykladen," *EEKM*, X (1974-77), 520.

<sup>4</sup> R. Saulger, *Histoire*, pp.327-35.



several miles up from the sea and occupies the present site of the Chora, the island village.<sup>5</sup>

### *Sikinos and Folegandros*

Both Sikinos and Folegandros in the Middle Ages and in the twentieth century are small parched islands lying between Ios and Milos with only several hundred inhabitants. Since they were also parts of the Sanudo empire they both received castros despite their unimportance. On Sikinos, besides the castro in the island's center, there were several other small fortresses and a walled convent at Zoodokhos Pighi.<sup>6</sup>

### *Sifnos*

Sifnos is the most fertile of the Western Cyclades, indeed, was considered quite wealthy in the ancient world. In classical times according to Pausanius the gold mines of the island were so productive that the people of Sifnos donated a solid golden egg to Apollo's shrine at Delphi each year. Then one year the Sifnians sent a gold-plated imitation. Apollo was not fooled – he put a curse on their gold mines which as a result had to be abandoned.

Sifnos was a Sanudo possession until 1268 when Philanthropenos regained it for Michael Palaeologos. In the early fourteenth century it came back into Latin control. Its castro was then built on the sea since medieval Sifnos was of some commercial importance.

Januli Da Corogna or Coronía, from the Spanish city whence he drew his name, settled here early in the fourteenth century. It was under Giovanni II that the castro, which still holds its medieval name, took its present shape. Here merchants tied up their ships

<sup>5</sup> Raymond-Joseph Loenertz, "Menego Schiavo, esclave, corsaire, seigneur d'Ios, 1296-1310," *Studi Veneziani*, IX (1967), 315-38; Giorgios Stinis, *Ἡ Φραγκοκρατία στὴ Νίω* (Athens, 1978), pp.8-19.

<sup>6</sup> Eberhard, "Mittelalterliche Burgen," pp.565-71; Alexander Paradissis, *Fortresses and Castles of Greece* (3 vols., Athens, 1972-76), III, 70.

and had them serviced by the carpenters and shipbuilders of the island.<sup>7</sup>

### *Kithnos*

Medieval Kithnos was called Fermenia, a corruption of the Greek Thermia, so known because of its hot springs. These are still flowing at Loutra where there is a hospital for those seeking the curative waters. In the Middle Ages the population was very small, constantly subject to pirates, such as Roger de Lluria.

The medieval castro was on the northwest coast at Katakephalou. Although the area may have been able to contain a thousand inhabitants, it probably never reached that number. The thirteenth century church of Our Lady of Mercy which is still extant was the principal place of worship. Two other churches, one dedicated to the Holy Trinity and the second whose name has been forgotten, occupy the present site now a three hour walk, coming and going, from present day Loutra.

In 1322 Duke Guillelmo appointed Gerardo Castelli to serve as his deputy there. Fifteen years later Francesco Gozzadini landed a force on the island. The Sanudo dukes did not concern themselves; the poverty of the island was so great that there was no point in it.<sup>8</sup>

### *Andros*

After Naxos, Andros is the largest of the Cyclades. Besides enjoying a more temperate climate for agriculture its main importance in Byzantine times came from shipping. The strait bet-

<sup>7</sup> Armao, *In giro*, pp.263-64; Henry Hauttecoeur, "L'île de Siphnos," *Bulletin de la Société Royale Belge de Géographie* (1898), pp.4-23. Hereafter BSRBG; Anastasia Tzakou "Sifnos" in *Greek Traditional Architecture* (Dimitri Philippides, ed., 2 vols., Athens, 1983), p.181.

<sup>8</sup> Giuseppe Gerola, "Fermenia," *Annuario della R. Scuola Archeologica di Atene*, VI, VII (1926), 3-18; Hereafter ARSA; Antonios Ballindas, *Ιστορία της νήσου Κύθνου από των 'αρχαιοτάτων χρόνων μέχρι των καθ' ήμας* (Athens, 1896), pp.28-31; Antonio Gounaris, *Ἡ Κύθνος* (Athens, 1938), pp. 72-76, 96-119.

tween it and Southern Evvoia, the Canale d'Oro (the Golden Passage), was the major highway between Western Europe and Constantinople towns of the Black Sea, Smyrna and Chios. Its ports offered harbors to mariners for safe mooring and supplies. The men of Andros were themselves noted sailors, frequently signing on with the crews that stopped at their harbors. A thriving silk industry developed as early as the twelfth century, thus keeping the remainder of Andros' men home as weavers.

In 1204 the committee who partitioned the Byzantine Empire placed Andros under direct Venetian sovereignty. Since the Republic did not push its claim, Marino Dandolo, one of the private Venetian adventurers in Constantinople, occupied the island. Nothing is known of him before this expedition and there are no details on his landing. Like Sanudo on Naxos, Dandolo chose to ignore the island's Byzantine capital which had been located at Messaria.<sup>9</sup>

Dandolo settled on the eastern coast of Andros building his castro and palace on a rocky island at the end of a peninsula. It was walled, contained a cistern, and was connected to the mainland by a stone bridge over which was placed a statue of Mercury. The island people knew it as Mesa Kastro, the middle castro. The bridge and the remains of several buildings still stand in Andros, but Mercury has disappeared. It is also true that the arched bridge is mostly a reconstruction, since the original suffered from shelling in World War II. On the mainland there was still another construction of the Middle Ages, Kato Kastro, the lower castro.

The third fortress of the Latin settlers on Andros, built by Dandolo or one of his successors, was meant to defend the bay at Korthi. It is now known as Palaiokastro, "Old Kastro." A number of towers are also located on Andros, constructed to provide look-outs to warn against pirates who roamed nearby seas.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Armao, *In giro*, p.306; Bruno Dudan, *Il Dominio Veneziano di Levante* (Bologna, 1938), pp.31-36; D.I. Polemis, *Ἱστορία τῆς Ἀνδρου* (Andros, 1981), pp.51-53.

<sup>10</sup> Karl Hopf, "Geschichte der Insel Andros und ihr Beherrscher in dem Zeitraume von 1207-1566," *SKAW*, XVI (Vienna, 1855), 16-18; Angeliki Kharitonidou, "Andros," in *Greek Traditional Architecture*, pp.9-14; Polemis,

After the arrival of the Italians, a Latin bishop settled on the island sometime before 1225. His name was Giovanni and he served as a suffragan of the archbishop of Athens. Almost at once he and Dandolo began quarelling although the exact reason for the hostility is unknown. Dandolo threw Giovanni in prison but somehow he escaped, perhaps with the quiet consent of his captor who was happy to be rid of him. Dandolo took the bishop's revenues and threatened to punish anyone who might be tempted to help him return.

Giovanni secured the intervention of Pope Gregory IX who excommunicated Dandolo. In a decree of June 21, 1233 he ordered the dean of the Athenian church and the archdeacon of Thebes to restore his bishop using whatever means they might find expedient. The revenues of several Latin churches were to be transferred to Giovanni. It did not work; the bishop remained in exile. He is found in 1237 at Andreville seeking assistance from the Villehardouin prince. At length he went to Rome to personally appear before Pope Gregory, but all was in vain. He apparently died without ever returning to Andros. There is no mention of another Latin appointment to the see of Andros until 1274.<sup>11</sup>

The displaced Giovanni might well have taken some pleasure in learning that in the fall of 1238 Geremia Ghisi, lord of the Northern Sporades, had invaded Andros with his brother Andrea's help, ousting Marino Dandolo from his island. The exiled lord proceeded to Venice registering a complaint on his own behalf and that of Maria Doro, his sister. The Venetian government ordered the Ghisi out, but before that could happen Marino Dandolo died (sometime before 1243).

When the Ghisi brothers remained put, Venetian authorities ordered that their *bailio* on Evvoia should go to Andros and take charge until all claims could be heard, "according to the custom of

*Ἱστορία*, pp.65-66.

<sup>11</sup> Raymond-Joseph Loenertz, "Marino Dandolo, seigneur d'Andros et son conflit avec l'évêque Jean, 1225-1238," *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, XXV (1959), 165-81; Paschalis, "Ἡ δούτικὴ ἐκκλησία", 15-19. On p.108 Paschalis presents a list of the Latin bishops of Andros.

the Venetians." Andrea Ghisi's property in Venetian territories was confiscated but the issue remained unsettled since Angelo Sanudo also put in a bid. In 1259 the Republic had a change of mind and lifted the ban on Andrea.<sup>12</sup>

The right to hold Andros plagued relations between the Ghisi and the Sanudi well into the late thirteenth century. By this time the son of Dandolo's widow and her Querini husband, Niccolò Querini da Cà Grande, claimed he was rightful heir to half the island because of his mother's title.

Marco II Sanudo sought an end to the bickering. Around 1281 he landed a Naxian force on Andros, claiming that in fact Marino Dandolo had been a vassal of his grandfather. Venice had no right to decide between contestants, this was his business. In his famous letter to Venice he pointed out that only his sovereign, Charles of Anjou, could make the final decision. Subsequently Marco II began calling himself Lord of Naxos and of Andros.

The Sanudi held onto Andros throughout the fourteenth century. Their major concern was fending off the pirates who preyed upon island commerce. The island slipped out of their hands only when the last Sanudo, Duke Niccolò, gave the sovereignty over the island to his sister Maria.<sup>13</sup>

### *Siros*

Siros is almost at the center of the Cyclades, with a better claim than Delos to be the hub of the island circle. It is about ten miles long and six miles wide, dominated by a mountainous landscape.

Although Siros was famous in antiquity for its fertility, for Eumaeos, the swineherd of Odysseos, and Pherikides, the teacher of Pythagoras, it had no history in Byzantine times. The people of the island, constantly plagued by pirates, appear to have lived on the two hills that still rise up behind present-day Ermoupolis.

<sup>12</sup> Stefano Magno, *Annali*, p.180; R. Cessi, *Storia della Repubblica*, II, 145-46; Hopf, "Geschichte," pp.19-21; F. Thiriet, *Délibérations des Assemblées*, I, 30, Mar. 11, 1243; 31, Mar. 14, 1252.

<sup>13</sup> Sanudo Torsello, *Istoria del Regno* in Hopf, *Chroniques*, pp.112-13; Polemis, *Ἱστορία*, pp.55-56; Hopf, "Geschichte," pp.41-47.

When Marco Sanudo arrived on Siros (the Venetians called it Souda) its occupation was probably an easy task. Little is known in detail of Latin migration onto Siros; possibly what few Westerners came located on the taller hill, Ano Siros. Their numbers increased so that late in the thirteenth century, a Latin bishop, the Cistercian Peter of Weider-Bettlach, came to direct the church's life. His cathedral was built on the highest point of Ano Siros, incorporating an earlier Byzantine chapel into its construction.<sup>14</sup>

It is possible that even during the fourteenth century the Greek natives, few in number, began to change from the Byzantine to the Latin church. Inter-marriage would have been a major factor in this general conversion, unique in all the Cyclades for the indigenous population of a Cycladic island to join the Catholic church. The presence of a Latin bishop at various times as well as the arrival of more Westerners seeking their fortune in the Aegean were equal considerations. To this day Siros has the distinction of having the largest Catholic population in all of Greece.<sup>15</sup>

### *Santorini*

Santorini has received more attention in recent years than any of the Cyclades. "It is hardly a matter of surprise that few, if any, good descriptions of Santorini have been written; the reality is so astonishing that prose and poetry, however winged, will forever be forced to limp behind."<sup>16</sup>

Lawrence Durrell's enthusiasm stems from the stunning contrast between the black lava rocks and the blue sea formed by the Bronze Age volcanic eruption. This explosion created a caldera eighteen miles around. From Fira, the present capital, the eye travels to a second island within the circle, Therasia, which today

<sup>14</sup> Fedalto, *La Chiesa*, II, 314-15, Spiridon Avouris, "Σύντομος ἐκκλησιαστική ιστορία τῆς νήσου Σύρου," *EEKM*, V (1967), 518-20.

<sup>15</sup> Armao, *In giro*, pp.305-09; Eberhard, "Mittelalterliche Burgen," p.169; Antonio von Sigalas, "I Nomi e Cognomi Veneto-italiani nell'Isola di Sira," *Studi Bizantini et Neellenici*, VIII, 3 (1921), 197-98.

<sup>16</sup> Lawrence Durrell, *The Greek Islands* (New York, 1978), p.111.

is home for several hundred people.

After its population became Christian the island was named in honor of St. Irene, a holy woman of Thessalonika. During the Middle Ages Santorini, like Siros, had no history; a Byzantine fortress remains at Cape Exomytis and where Pirgos now stands was the site of the island capital.

Sometime after 1207 Giacomo Barozzi, possibly a vassal of Marco Sanudo, landed on the island. It is more probable that Barozzi paid homage directly to the Latin Emperor of Constantinople for recognition of the title he held, *Dominator insularum Santorini et Tirasiae* (Lord of the islands of Santorini and Therasia). In 1244 his son Andrea succeeded his father as sovereign. Neither Barozzi spent much time on their island, for it was too remote and dull for their taste. They preferred Candia or Negroponte (today Chalkis on Evvoia) where life was more exciting and comfortable.

For a time, from 1269 to 1296 Santorini was regained by the Byzantine navy for the Palaeologoi. In 1303 however, Andronikos I recognized the Barozzi claim and returned the island to Giacomo II, then acting as Venetian *bailio* of Negroponte.

A considerable number of West Europeans settled on Santorini since, despite a lack of ground water in the volcanic soil, cisterns were able to hold winter storms' overflow and provide sufficient moisture for the growing of grapes. Five major castros were built on the island. The most important was at Skaros, which held the Barozzi palace. Others were in the far north at Oia (the Venetian Epanomeria), Pirgos (San Salvatore), Emborio (Nebrio), and Akrotiri (La Punta) in the south.

Emperor Alexios Komnenos built a still extant church in the eleventh century. It is known as Panayia tis Gonias (Our Lady of Gonias) or more commonly, Panayia tis Episkopi (Our Lady of the Bishop) since it must have been used as the Byzantine cathedral. During the Barozzi period of Santorini history it was taken over by the Latins with its revenues to support their own religious establishments.<sup>17</sup>

In the early fourteenth century life became more difficult. As early as 1318 the Turks commenced their raids on the island, inflicting severe losses on the inhabitants. In addition the Sanudo dukes began harrassing the Barozzi, claiming that they were not showing proper deference to Naxos. Duke Guillelmo Sanudo imprisoned Giacomo Barozzi who had to call on Venetian aid to be freed. In 1336 Duke Niccolò I assigned the castro at La Punta to the Gozzadini family, a gesture on behalf of allies. By the mid-fourteenth century the fifth and last of the Barozzis, Marino, retired to Crete where he died in 1359. Henceforth the Sanudi ruled Santorini as a direct possession.<sup>18</sup>

### *Anafi and Astipalaia*

The two small islands of Anafi and Astipalaia are found to the east of Santorini and were both considered within the Naxian domain. From 1207 the Venetian Foscolos of Ios were also lords of Anafi, which they called Namfio, and held it as a vassal of the Sanudi. Like most of the Cyclades Anafi was recaptured by the Byzantines in mid-century until recovered for the Latins after the treaty between Venice and Andronikos I. The Sanudo dukes then assigned Anafi to the Gozzadini.<sup>19</sup>

Astipalaia is one of the Aegean's most isolated places. Today it is considered to be part of the Dodekanese rather than the Cyclades. It is probable that it was taken as part of the Latin conquest of the Aegean in the thirteenth century, but no details are known. Italian mariners called it Stampalia.

History begins on Astipalaia in 1334 when Umar Pasha of Aydin is said to have so devastated it that it had become little more than a desert. This occurred just after Giovanni Querini of Venice had purchased it for a personal possession. He styled himself

<sup>17</sup> Karl Hopf, "Veneto-Byzantinische Analekten," *SKAW*, XXIII (1859), 380-86; Armao, *In giro*, pp. 240-41; Ioannis Delendas, *Oi καθολικοί τῆς Σαντορίνης* (Athens, 1949), 36-38; Michael Danezis, *Σαντορίνη* (Athens, 1971), p.149.

<sup>18</sup> Hopf, "Veneto-Byzantinische Analekten," pp.388-91.

<sup>19</sup> Armao, *In giro*, p.245; Eberhard, "Mittelalterliche Burgen," pp.577-81.



"Lord of Stampalia." Giovanni built a castro, whose remains still stand, and a palace for himself dedicated to Santa Maria Formosa. The harbor received considerable traffic as a way-station for ships on their way to Rhodes.<sup>20</sup>

Over all these islands the Sanudi took care that, as best they could, protection against foreign invaders should be offered and revenues collected. They seem to have been more diligent in performing the latter task rather than the former. Cycladic farmland, when properly managed, provided an agricultural surplus which the dukes taxed to live comfortably in the Naxian castro.

<sup>20</sup> Armao, *In giro*, 214-15; Raymond-Joseph Loenertz, "De quelque îles grecques et de leur seigneurs vénitiens aux XIV<sup>e</sup> et XV<sup>e</sup> siècles," *Studi veneziani*, XV (1972), 9-13.



## CHAPTER FOUR

### *The Ghisi and their Islands*

The second family of the Aegean, often the rivals of the Sanudi, were the Ghisi brothers, Andrea and Geremia. Originally the family had come from Aquileia, but had developed strong attachments to Venice. Like Marco Sanudo they had set off to build themselves an island empire after the partition treaty of 1204. Their relationship to the Naxian dukes is unclear; apparently they thought of themselves as acting as independent agents but from the Sanudo viewpoint they were vassals. Hence the conflicts which often arose between them.

The Ghisi expeditions first landed in the Northern Sporades: Skiathos, Skopelos and Skiros which became their northern base. In the Cyclades they must have received permission from the Latin Emperor Henry II to occupy Tinos, which had been assigned to him, but which he had no way to manage himself. Geremia brought his galleys into the harbor of Tinos, took that island, then moved on to assert his authority over neighboring Mikonos and then uninhabited Delos.

In addition the Ghisi laid claim to half of Kea and Serifos which they shared with other Venetian princes. Their holdings extended to parts of Evvoia and its capital Negroponte was their usual residence. The brothers were businessmen first and island lords second, hence their preference for a house in the center of the Grecian Venetian world rather than on an out-of-the-way island. Their island kingdom in the Cyclades was long lasting, 183 years and seven generations of Ghisi would hold onto the family inheritance.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A whole book is now available on the Ghisi genealogy: Raymond-Joseph Loenertz, *Les Ghisi, dynastes vénitiens dans l'Archipel, 1207-1390* (Florence, 1975). For the conquest, see Dandolo's chronicle in Muratori, *Rerum italicarum*

*Tinos and Mikonos*

The Ghisi Cycladic islands were geographically very similar. Tinos is the larger, seventeenth miles north to south, seven and a half miles east to west. Mikonos is much smaller, encompassing an area of only twenty-three square miles and tiny Delos in the thirteenth century was visited only by nomadic shepherds. Mikonos was also more arid and without a good harbor. Famous today as a major center of tourism, it once held the same role in the ancient world when it was a waystation for pilgrims on their way to visit Apollo's shrine on Delos. During the Middle Ages both islands were included within the *theme* of the Aegean Sea, but nothing specific is known of them for centuries. It is only when the Latin conquest takes place that they return to the light of history.<sup>2</sup>

When the Ghisi occupation took place the inhabitants on both Tinos and Mikonos were few, farmers engaged in subsistent agriculture. Beekeeping was important, one of their few exports was honey and wax. How many Venetians would have come? Only a guess can be made, probably between thirty to fifty would not be far wrong. These men would have married into local Greek families. They provided the Ghisi civil service and military force on the islands and supported themselves from the lands they received which were parceled out, feudal-style, with their laborers, the *paroikoi*.<sup>3</sup>

In religious matters there was a change. A Byzantine bishop had a residence on Tinos and now a Latin Catholic displaced him from the small Orthodox cathedral of St. Nicholas. The Ghisi followed the usual Venetian practice: only a *protopapas* was allowed to care for the religious activities of the Greek Christians. The

*scriptores*, XII, 1, 282.

<sup>2</sup> For the history of ancient Tinos see Georgios Dorizas, *Ἡ Ἀρχαία Τήνος* (Athens, 1974).

<sup>3</sup> F. Thiriet, *La Romanie vénitien au moyen âge* (Paris, 1959), pp.82-100; Georgios Dorizas, *Ἡ μεσαιωνική Τήνος* (Athens, 1976), pp.41-55; Jean Baelen, *Mykonos: Chronique d'une île de l'Egée* (Paris, 1964), pp.25-29.

Orthodox community chose him but his confirmation had to be made by the Latin bishop. Officially he was his vicar "for the Greek rite." The Greek clerics had to acknowledge the Latin bishop's authority over their ecclesiastical functions, pay him part of their revenue, and commemorate the pope and Latin patriarch of Constantinople in the Liturgy. Latin altars were put up in Greek churches and the Catholic bishop acted as the chief administrator of Byzantine monasteries and convents.

For most Greek Christians the changes effected in their church were minimal – they kept their own Liturgy, conferred the sacraments as before, educated their children and held their parish properties intact. In one sense this shows a measure of tolerance, but on the other hand the Greek clergy and congregants were treated as second-class Christians. They always marched behind the Latins in any joint celebration.

The Latin bishop and his clergy, not more than ten or twelve in number, built their own churches to serve the few Catholic families that had immigrated to the Aegean. Mikonos had its own bishop in the thirteenth century, a time when vocations to the priesthood in Italy were remarkably numerous to serve the Latin Orient. The prospect of an Aegean bishopric for clerics may offer a partial explanation.<sup>4</sup>

The Ghisi capital on Tinos was on Exombourgo, where it had been in pre-classical times. The location, about five miles inland, was chosen for one very obvious reason: the defensive qualities offered by the mountain upon which Exombourgo was built. This mountain is indeed a formidable granite peak 1800 feet high, with three sides so steep as to forbid entrance to any enemy. On the fourth side there is a narrow plain which is overshadowed by the mountain.

On the very top the Ghisi constructed a fort which they dedicated to St. Helena, Constantine's mother. Underneath the fortress the Venetians laid out their town surrounding it with a stout wall.

<sup>4</sup> Leonidas Philippidis, "Μελέτη εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν ἱστορίαν τῆς νήσου Τήνου," *EEKM*, III (1963), 46-59; Markos Phoskolos, "Ἱστορία τοῦ Χωριῦ καὶ τῆς καθολικῆς ἐνορίας Καρδιάνης," (Athens, 1977), pp.3-5.

It contained the palace of the Ghisi prince, the cathedral, Ayia Maria tis Meizonos, (St. Mary Major), the residence of the Catholic bishop, and the houses of the Italians who had emigrated to Tinos. Several other Latin churches were located inside the city, all of small dimension since they served only a handful of people.

The area of the Exombourgo is narrow and confined. It is exposed to fierce winds which descend on the Cyclades in both winter and summer. The streets were narrow, hardly allowing the passage of two pack animals side by side. It is hard to imagine that even the houses of the Venetian landowners enjoyed very pleasant living conditions. Moreover, there was always the problem of securing water. Springs are found only at the bottom of the mountain and water carriers had to make countless trips up and down the incline in order to keep the Exombourgo cisterns full.<sup>5</sup>

Outside the walls of Exombourgo a city of Greek Tiniotes built their houses. This was the Bourgo, the town. Here the natives lived who served the Exombourgo as domestics, merchants, and craftsmen. The Bourgo residents were trained in arms to form a militia in times of danger so that they might assist the Italian professionals who manned St. Helena. When pirates landed on Tinos all of the island population could flee behind the walls of Exombourgo. On Mikonos the Ghisi castro was on the sea, built southwest of the present harbor. It still holds its medieval name.

The Latins were the landowners, the *cittadini*, with full citizens' rights. As on Naxos they elected a council, the *università* to advise the duke and to govern in his absence. They were often at odds with the Ghisi. There was also an upper class among the Greeks, the *archontes*, but they did not enjoy all the privileges of the Italians.

Most of the native Greeks, the farming population, were in the ranks of *villani*. They were tied to the land and paid a certain percentage of their crops to their lord. There were also a number of freemen, merchants, sailors and fishermen as well as peasants who were sufficiently wealthy to escape the status of serfs. They

<sup>5</sup> Possibly eight hundred people could live here. Eberhard, "Mittelalterliche Burgen," X, 550; Armao, *In giro*, p.299.

paid their taxes in coins. The most onerous of *villani* duties was the corvée, which required the Greeks to drill in the militia and serve on guard duty, to repair the fortress walls and roads of the island under the direction of the Venetians.<sup>6</sup>

### *Kea*

After Tinos, Kea was the most important of Ghisi possessions in the Cyclades. It held an excellent harbor whose proximity to the mainland made it an easy voyage. In the early thirteenth century it became a place of exile for the ousted Greek archbishop of Athens, Michael Choniates. A poem he composed in 1211 shows that the Italians had not yet arrived, but it cannot have been too long afterwards that the Latin invasion took place.<sup>7</sup> In addition to the two Ghisi, Domenico Michiel and Pietro Giustiniani were partners in the conquest. The island therefore was divided four ways.

Apparently there was only one town on Kea in the thirteenth century, Ioulis. This became the residence of Michiel who fortified it with a castro, which because of its location made it one of the strongest in the Aegean. Its entrance is still the main gateway into Ioulis. The passage which leads to the fortress which once stood on the highest part of the town is composed of marble classical blocks and the small irregular stone schist construction of medieval Italian craftsmen.<sup>8</sup>

The first Catholic bishop arrived about 1220, but his name and those of his immediate successors are unknown. The castro cathedral was dedicated to St. Andrew. There is a church by that name still extant in Ioulis, but it appears to always have been Orthodox.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>6</sup> See Thiriet, "La condition paysanne et les problèmes de l'exploitation rurale en Roumanie vénitienne," *Studi Veneziani*, IX (1969), 35-49.

<sup>7</sup> Ahrweiler, *Byzance et la Mer*, pp.308-10. Ships of Theodore Laskaris continued to visit Kea.

<sup>8</sup> R. Kloutsinioti, N. Farklas and N. Alexandrou, "Kea" in *Greek Traditional Architecture*, II, 247-72; Paradissis, *Fortresses and Castles*, III, 88. Most of the Kea castro was torn down by the Greek government in 1865.

Several miles inland from Ioulis there is a church known as Panayia tis Episkopi, "Our Lady of the Bishop," now situated in a completely rural area. Possibly the church here was once the Latin bishop's church, used when he was in the country, hence its name. The present church has a dedication block of 1641, the older building having been destroyed. The small church of St. Catherine, on a hill above Ioulis, was also once Catholic.<sup>10</sup>

### *Serifos*

Tucked in between Sanudo islands on both sides, Serifos was also held jointly by the Ghisi brothers, Pietro Giustiniani and Domenico Michiel. Unlike Kea, Serifos was a poor island, very mountainous and far removed from the trade routes of the Venetians. Its one resource was iron which was plentiful enough to be mined and to give the island a touch of prosperity in the fourteenth century.

The Venetians at an unknown date built the island castro on a mountain several miles distant from the Port. A small church named for St. Constantine became the Latin chapel. The population on the island huddled within the castro for protection.<sup>11</sup>

### *Amorgos*

Amorgos, a narrow island eleven miles long and less than three miles wide, was first part of the Sanudo empire but then came into possession of the Ghisi. Even today it is difficult to reach; its claim to fame is a monastery, Panayia tis Chozoviotissis, which was built during the time of Alexios Komnenos in the late eleventh century. It holds a miraculous icon which travelled to the island by sea.

No one could offer it aid from pirate attacks so that in 1250 the

<sup>9</sup> Fedalto, *La Chiesa*, II, 83-84.

<sup>10</sup> Giuseppe Gerola, "Zea," *ARSA*, IV, V (1923), 192; Slot, "Καθολικὰ ἑκκλησίαι," *Κιμωλιακά*, V, 289.

<sup>11</sup> Gerola, "Serifos," *ARSA*, III (1921), 203-16; Eberhard, "Mittelalterliche Burgen," X, 551; Hauttecoeur, "Seriphos," *BSRBG* (1900), 552-53.



whole Amorgos population, several hundred people, moved to Naxos to escape the raids. The deserted island fell back into Byzantine hands during the Palaeologian restoration, but it was so poor that Michael VIII willingly gave it to Geremia Ghisi, since the Ghisi, unlike the Sanudi, had not taken an active role supporting the Latin emperors of Constantinople.<sup>12</sup>

### *The Ghisi Under Attack*

The latter thirteenth century saw a series of attacks against the Ghisi possessions. Even though they were officially on good terms with the Byzantine emperors, the admirals of Michael and Andronikos Palaeologos, Philanthropenos and Licario, attacked both the Sporades and Cyclades leaving Greek garrisons on them. Only Tinos was strong enough to hold out. Marco Sanudo II used the Ghisi discomfort to seize Amorgos which he claimed rightfully was his. In addition the Aragonese captain, Roger de Lluria, took his turn at despoiling the islands. Then came the war between Venice and Genoa allied with Byzantium. The Venetians held the Ghisi islands until the conclusion of the war in 1302; this settlement was confirmed in the Venetian-Byzantine Treaty of March 1303.<sup>13</sup>

In 1310 Giorgio II, heir to the dynasty, came to the Greek mainland to assist Gautier of Brienne, Duke of Athens, against the Catalans. It proved his undoing; he was killed at the battle of the Kephissos.

Giorgio's heir was Bartolomeo II, an ambitious warrior who sought compensation for his family's earlier difficulties. He seized the other halves of Kea and Serifos from the Michieli and Giustiniani, claiming they belonged to him. This conflict caused the Venetians to intervene, forcing Bartolomeo to divest himself of his new appropriations. Venice did not hesitate to threaten its

<sup>12</sup> Armao, *In giro*, p.253; Miller, *Essays*, p.165; Eberhard, "Mittelalterliche Burgen," X, 554.

<sup>13</sup> Cheetham, *Medieval Greece*, pp.148-49; Heyd, *Commerce*, II, 273; Cessi, *Storia*, I, 339.

clients in the Aegean if the situation demanded.

Around 1363 a rebellion of the Amorgos people against their Ghisi lord caused the Venetians to once more intervene. Spezzabanda, acting in the name of the Naxian claim sent agents to the island, but the Republic ordered him to get out. One-fourth of Amorgos was to go to Venice, another quarter was to be held for the heirs of Zannaki Ghisi. By 1385 the island had come under the Grimani family.<sup>14</sup>

On Kea the Catalans were causing such trouble that the castro had to be repaired and the great tower at Ayia Marina made more defensible. By 1328 the Ghisi had had enough. They sold their half of Kea to Ruggero Premarini and in 1355 the Michieli also sold their quarter to the Premarini. The last of the Giustiniani, a woman, married Januli II da Corogna, lord of Sifnos, uniting the fortunes of Kea and Sifnos.<sup>15</sup>

Towards the close of the century Giorgio II, without children, drew up a will leaving the Ghisi islands to Venice. When he died on July 24, 1390 Venice took over direct rule of his possessions.<sup>16</sup> Ghisi continued to live in Greece on a number of islands. The Santorini museum is lodged in the Ghisi mansion; one of modern Greece's most famous artists was a Ghisi, but none ever returned as lord of an Aegean island.

<sup>14</sup> Loenertz, *Les Ghisi*, p.38; Thiriet, *Délibérations des Assemblées*, I, 304, June 20, 1314; Armao, *In giro*, p.253; Slot, *Archipelagus*, p.62. The Venetian name for Amorgos was Meinsis and a list of Latin bishops, surely titulars, exists.

<sup>15</sup> Gerola, "Zea," p.183; Hopf, "Veneto-Byzantinische Analekten," *SKAW*, XXIII, 423.

<sup>16</sup> Thiriet, *Romanie vénitien*, p.360; Dorizas, *Μεσαιωνική Τήνος*, pp.56-125.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### *The Crispo Dynasty of the Archipelago*

From the coup of 1383 until 1566 the Crispi were to rule the Archipelago. During those one hundred eighty-three years eleven of its members held the ducal title. All were men, for contrary to the usual practice in the Latin East, the Crispi followed the Salic law therefore prohibiting women from ever holding power in their own name.

The Crispo dukes were forced of necessity to recognize their dependence on Venice since the Republic's fleet was the Archipelago's main defense against its enemies. As Venetian power faded in the Aegean, so too did the fortunes of the duchy. This was a slow process extending over many generations. The Duchy of the Archipelago was, in fact, quite remarkable for it was the sole remaining crusader state when at last it collapsed in the sixteenth century.

Francesco Crispo came to rule the Archipelago as a result of Venetian complicity in the murder of his predecessor. Despite some misgivings over replacing the Sanudi by assassination, reasons of state argued for Crispo and Venice to join forces in reforming the Naxian duchy after decades of decline. Venice sent its congratulations to Francesco, asking only that he make provision for Petronilla, the widow of Niccolò II dalle Carceri.<sup>1</sup>

All of the islands except Amorgos pledged their loyalty to Duke Francesco. An expedition to Amorgos soon stifled the discontent there so that within several months he was universally recognized. Andros presented a special problem, however, since the sister of the deceased duke, Maria Sanudo, held title to it. Maria was then

<sup>1</sup> Thiriet, *Délibérations des Assemblées*, II, 861, July 22, 1384; Ernest Dugit, *De insula Naxo* (Paris, 1867), pp.212-15.

living on Paros, married to a Sommaripa. Maria appealed to Venice to insure that her title should not be taken from her and the Republic agreed to protect her interests. This contradicted a grant Duke Francesco made to his own daughter Petronilla. She had been married to Pietro Zeno, son of the *bailio* of Negroponte, and for her dowry her father had bestowed on her the rights and revenues to Andros and Siros. Over the next several years Venetian authorities faced an impossible task trying to sort out the conflicting claims.<sup>2</sup>

Francesco was blessed with six children which enabled him to place his daughters in marriage to several prominent Cycladic families and his sons as governors of the more important islands. This was a time when the Catalans were entering their final period of piracy in the Aegean and, to their credit, the Crispo children held their own against them.<sup>3</sup>

### *Giacomo I*

In 1397 Francesco died, leaving as his heir his son Giacomo. Giacomo confirmed his brothers in their island possessions where, as often as not, they ruled as if they were independent of Naxos' control. Giacomo was content to let them be, earning him the title "*Il pacifico*." He inherited his father's unresolved problem of what to do about Maria Sanudo's claims to Andros. The widow of the duke had married Niccolò Venier, member of a distinguished Venetian family. Together they pressed charges that neither Francesco nor Giacomo had offered adequate compensation for the loss of Maria's property in the Archipelago. Venetian opinion sided with Maria and her daughter Fiorenza but the wheels of justice moved slowly in Venice, and the Republic did not want to alienate the Crispi. Nevertheless, for a time Giacomo's properties within Venetian jurisdiction were confiscated. The duke complained he had no money to pay.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Saulger, *Histoire*, pp.194-99; Stefano Magno, *Annali* in Hopf, *Chroniques*, p.185.

<sup>3</sup> Lichtle, *Description* in Miller, VI, 436.

For a time, after 1402 the fortunes of the Archipelago brightened on news that the Turks had suffered a great defeat at the hands of the Mongols outside Ankara and Sultan Bayezit had become a Mongol prisoner. This respite allowed Venice to include the Archipelago in a peace treaty concluded with Sultan Süleyman I when it was learned that Bayezit had died.<sup>5</sup>

This same period of quiet allowed Giacomo to replicate the journey of Emperor Manuel to the West for assistance to his hard-pressed duchy. He applied for a safe conduct to pass through Venice on his way to the Christian princes. This was given despite the fact that the claims of Maria Sanudo and her husband remained unsettled.

Giacomo, who as first duke of Christendom was allowed to travel in style wearing a gold chain over his crimson tunic, eventually made his way as far as London. He met with King Henry IV begging his assistance. Apparently he enjoyed only partial success, since in January 1404 a request arrived in Venice for a boat to take him to Naxos. Possibly while in the Republic he at last agreed to settle with Maria and Venier.<sup>6</sup>

Since the duke's treasury would be sorely tried to pay his adversaries even with the funds he may have gained from his sojourn, the Venetians agreed to let him sell twenty-five to thirty horses or mules in Candia to refurbish his treasury. This permit was renewed several times. In addition at this time he was given a galley to bolster his defenses.<sup>7</sup>

The Republic's authorities were not always pleased with the spurts of independence Giacomo showed. Word came to Venice

<sup>4</sup> Thiriet, *Asssemblées*, II, 993, Oct. 24, 1402; Freddy Thiriet, *Régestes des délibérations du Sénat de Venise concernant la Roumanie* (3 vols., Paris, 1959-61) I, 1532, June 18, 1414.

<sup>5</sup> Heyd, *Histoire du commerce*, II, 269; George M. Thomas and R. Predelli, *Diplomatarium Veneto-Levanticum: sive acta et diplomata res Venetas, Graecas atque Levantis illustrantia, 1300-1454* (2 vols., Venice, 1880-99), II, 290-93.

<sup>6</sup> C.N. Sathas, *Μνημεία Ἑλληνικῆς Ἱστορίας: Documents inédits relatifs à l'histoire de la Grèce au moyen âge* (9 vols., Paris 1880-90) II, 113, Jan. 20, 1403; II, 129, Jan. 29, 1404; II, 130, July 16, 1405.

<sup>7</sup> Thiriet, *Sénat*, I, 1188, July 16, 1405; 1264, June 14, 1407; 1312, July 21, 1408; 1565, Feb. 6, 1415; Sathas, *Μνημεία*, II, 279, Feb. 9, 1412; III, 4, Feb. 6, 1414.

several years later that Catalan and Basque corsairs had found a friend in the duke. Their ships were landing at will on Naxos and other Cycladic islands to take on supplies. Then they would prey upon both Turkish and Egyptian commercial vessels. Such an aggravation was bound to alienate Venice's trading partners, hence they warned Giacomo this aid must stop lest the equilibrium in the Aegean be lost. To let him know how they felt, the Venetians snubbed Giacomo's request to purchase a galley from the Arsenal, grandly announcing the decision on the grounds, "since he is not our subject." On the other hand Pietro Zeno of Andros was rewarded with a galley and three years to pay for it.<sup>8</sup>

When Mehmet I assumed the sultanate Venice sought to renew its treaty with the Ottomans and instructed its ambassador to include the duchy as part of its concerns. But Mehmet had other ideas. He was chagrined that upon his accession at Smyrna Giacomo had made no effort to send him congratulations. In the autumn of 1416 Mehmet ordered his admiral Cali Bey to assemble a fleet of thirty triremes and biremes at Gallipoli and to proceed against the Archipelago. Cali Bey struck Andros, Paros, and Milos destroying crops and robbing these islands of people and livestock, and at last laid siege to Naxos.

At this juncture, while Giacomo looked down apprehensively from his castle, a Venetian rescue party came within sight. The Christian galleys, under Pietro Loredano, intervened with the Turkish commander to lift the siege. The Turks withdrew and Loredano followed them back to Gallipoli. Here, mistaking his intentions, the Ottoman soldiers fired upon his vessels. In retaliation Loredano's men bombarded Gallipoli causing severe damage to Turkish installations. This was regarded as a major victory for the Christians.

Giacomo's deliverance came none too soon; he was especially gratified to learn that the Republic's policy was now to ally itself with Manuel Palaeologos and to keep several galleys in the Aegean to survey Turkish activities.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Thiriet, *Sénat*, I, 1399, Dec. 24, 1410; 1476, Mar. 3, 1413.

Throughout the Cyclades in the fifteenth century the islanders always had to be concerned about possible Turkish landings. Even in times of peace with the sultans, privateers continued to use the islands for plunder and kidnapping. Every island had one or more castros and these fortified towns with their walls needed constant attention. Very often the outer wall was none other than the rear of the houses inside the castro, built without windows and with flat roofs for easier defense. Besides the houses the castros contained the town's churches, possibly a donjon for a last stand in case the enemy breached the outer walls, as well as cisterns and store-houses. Several thousand people might find refuge inside the larger castros. All that are now found in the Cyclades were built while the Latins ruled the islands.

On larger islands there were also watch towers, *pyrgoi*, which were manned by soldiers to warn of the approach of unidentified ships. On Naxos and Tinos, the militia had both day guards, *merovigli*, replaced in the evening by night guards, the *nyktovigli*. If a fire was lighted, this signalled to all the inhabitants to prepare themselves for an attack. Militiamen armed themselves and took up their appointed stations, women and children fled behind the castro walls. Sometimes, when weather and the financial condition of the islanders permitted, a galley patrolled the waters offshore. Men who rowed the duchy's galleys were paid the same as those in the Venetian fleet.

Chances for capturing a castro were not good since food and water would be available to the defenders for a long time and pirates usually had no siege equipment. The castro soldiers had an advantage over attackers since they held the high ground behind stout walls and sometimes had cavalry units that allowed them to open the castro gates and surprise their attackers with a sudden charge. Most pirates did not bring horses or mules with them. As a result, the usual expedition was content to ravage the countryside, pillaging homes and livestock, and perhaps capturing

<sup>9</sup> Doukas, *Decline and Fall of Byzantium*, XXI, p.118; Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches* (10 vols., Pest, 1834-36) II, 170; Thiriet, *Sénat*, II, 1625, July 24, 1416; 1635, Jan. 12, 1417; Saulger, *Histoire*, pp.206-08.

a person on two that had gone into hiding. On smaller islands during times of war, the whole population, several hundred people, might leave their homes to seek security on the larger islands where the castros were better supplied. Possibly the flight of the population would leave an area so deserted that a new population might move in. Such is one explanation for the settlement of Albanians on Andros.<sup>10</sup>

Giacomo I spent his last days in Italy on one more mission seeking funds for the defense of his duchy. He died in the autumn of 1418 at Ferrara on his way to meet with Pope Martin V at Mantua. Venice dispatched a galley to Naxos to inform the islanders that a new duke must be recognized. Giacomo left two daughters, but since the Salic law was in force, it was his brother Giovanni then governing Milos and Kimolos who succeeded. As Giovanni II he was to rule the Archipelago for the next nineteen years. A Venetian galley transported him from Milos to Naxos.<sup>11</sup>

### *Giovanni II*

The change in dukes allowed the Venetians to once more press for a solution to the sovereignty over Andros. They again demanded that the duke acknowledge that Maria Sanudo and her daughter Fiorenza were rightful heirs to the island. All along Venice claimed Andros was within its jurisdiction, not that of the Archipelago. The Republic's authorities threatened to blockade Naxos if necessary to support the Sanudo claim, but nothing happened.

The Venetians backed down; they feared that if Giovanni was forced from office his brother Niccolò might follow and he had a Genoese wife. The risk was too great. Negotiations resumed. Giovanni was urged to send a representative to Venice where his testimony would be heard. There was no answer; instead Giovanni expelled Maria and Fiorenza from their Paros residence. He

<sup>10</sup> Slot, *Archipelagus*, I, 55-57; Thiriet, *Sénat*, I, 1427, June 4, 1411.

<sup>11</sup> La Monte, "Chronology," p.186.



would show Venice who was in charge. This gesture of independence brought consternation in Venice. Finally Giovanni agreed to come in person to Italy to present his case and in order to do so in June 1425 received a safe conduct for himself and twenty retainers to appear before the Venetian tribunal. There a compromise was finally reached; Giovanni would pay Fiorenza, now living in exile in Negroponte, 1000 gold pieces immediately to compensate her for the loss of Andros and an annual pension for the rest of her life. The duke was given eight months to raise the money.<sup>12</sup>

In 1426 Venice received a request from Giovanni and his brother Niccolò that they be allowed to make a treaty of peace with the Ottoman sultan, Murat II. Their strength had been exhausted; they needed to guarantee the safety of their commerce if they were to survive. The senate decided to agree to let them do so, asking only that they should not provide the Turks with provisions.<sup>13</sup>

An agreement apparently was reached with the Ottomans and contrary to Venetian conditions Giovanni was later found actively assisting them. A letter of 1430 from Venice to Naxos complained that the duke's soldiers no longer warned when the Ottoman fleet was at sea. In the past Venetian interests had depended on the Archipelago's islanders, "to make a certain signal with fire, so that the island of Negroponte could be advised of the coming of the Turks and therefore to provide the necessary security." This was not all. The Venetians had heard that Turkish captains were welcomed in the Archipelago, where they received supplies and information. In no uncertain terms Giovanni was warned to resume the fires and give no aid to the Ottomans lest he face Venetian wrath.<sup>14</sup>

Towards the end of his life Giovanni's health began to fail, his disposition could no longer support the strain of governing. He died in 1437, passing on the duchy to his son who would rule for the next ten years as Giacomo II.

<sup>12</sup> Sathas, *Μνημεία*, III, 781, Mar. 28, 1421; IV, 786, June 9, 1421; IV, 486, Aug. 17, 1424; Stefano Magno, *Annali*, pp.185-88.

<sup>13</sup> Thiriet, *Sénat*, II, 2026, July 2, 1426.

<sup>14</sup> Thiriet, *Sénat*, III, 1430, Mar. 3, 1430.

Some letters remain from the reign of Giovanni. They testify to the legal procedures then in force on the islands and the procedure used to oversee justice. When ownership of a watermill was contested, a judgment was given and the settlement signed by several Crispo brothers: Niccolò, lord of Siros and Santorini Giovanni and Marco, lords of Ios; and Guillelmo of Anafi. On a matter of such relative insignificance it is interesting to note how the Latin princes of several islands were involved. Perhaps they welcomed an opportunity to sit on courts for lack of anything better to occupy their time.<sup>15</sup>

### *The Legal System*

The legal system in the Cyclades during the Sanudo period had been an admixture of Venetian and feudal law. As the years passed the trend was to rely more heavily upon the latter until by mid-fourteenth century a code known as the *Assizes of Romania* was universally in use.

This collection was based upon the earlier *Assizes of Jerusalem* and represents a purer feudal structure than many of the codes then found in Western Europe. It was written down by an anonymous author in its final form between 1320 and 1346, possibly as a guide for the Angevins of Naples who were not well informed on the customs of Frankish Greece. Since the dukes of the Archipelago were vassals of the Angevins they would have used the same legal proceedings for internal affairs, but with modifications made to fit the realities on their islands. The legal tradition here was more conservative and allowed local customs to decide many issues.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Perikleos Zerlentes, "Γράμματα Φράγκων δουκῶν τοῦ Ἀιγαίου Πελάγους," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, XIII (1904), 143-44.

<sup>16</sup> The *Assizes of Romania* is translated in Peter Topping, *Feudal Institutions as Revealed in the Assizes of Romania, the Law Code of Frankish Greece* (Philadelphia, 1949), pp.22-99. The exact title is: Book of the Customs of the Roman Empire." Twelve MSS survive, all copies of a single work whose author was possibly a Frenchman. See also David Jacoby, *La féodalité en Grèce médiévale: les Assises de Romanie: Sources, application et diffusion* (Paris, 1971), pp.281-91; *Assizes de Romania. Liber consuetudinum Imperii*

In the *Assizes* there are 219 articles, covering a wide range of topics. Article three, for example, outlines the ceremony of homage:

When a vassal becomes the liegemen of his lord, he should say, "Sire, I become your liegeman for this fief (and he names the fief for which he is doing homage) and I promise to keep and protect you as my lord against all persons and against everything which can live and die." And the lord should reply, "And I receive you in the faith of God and in mine." And he should kiss him on the mouth in sign of faith.<sup>17</sup>

The *Assizes* provided for consultation between the lord and his vas-sal and sought to prohibit arbitrary actions of the ruler.

Article forty-three ranked the Frankish lords of Greece and determined how they should settle disputes among themselves. "This exercise of high justice is proper only to the peers of the prince, namely the Duke of Athens, the Lord of Naxos, the Triarchs of Negroponte, the Lord of Bodonitsa...."<sup>18</sup> It is noteworthy that the Naxian ruler ranks second among the Latin rulers of Greece demonstrating the important position he held.

The *Assizes* determined in large degree the limits of the authority of the Archipelagan dukes and their relationship to the princes or *bailies* of the Angevins at Andreville. For one thing as a vassal he had to receive permission to leave his territory to acquire a new fief or to go on pilgrimage. He had to take physical possession of his fief within a year and a day after receiving it or it would revert back to the lord who bestowed it. Once obtained, a vassal and his heirs held the fief in perpetuity. As for serfs, the *Assizes* ruled that they would become free men if, within a year and a day, their lord failed to assign them their duties. All vassals might be called upon for four months in the field and four more of duty in the castle until reaching sixty years of age. Then a son or someone else had to fill the position.<sup>19</sup>

*Româniae*, G. Recoura, ed. (Paris, 1930), p.56ff.

<sup>17</sup> Topping, *Feudal Institutions*, p.22.

<sup>18</sup> Topping, *Feudal Institutions*, p.41.

<sup>19</sup> Topping, *Feudal Institutions*, p.63,95-96.

If a vassal died without heirs, his fiefs returned to the lord's domain.<sup>20</sup> A boy of fifteen and a girl of twelve were considered to be of age and able to inherit the lands of a deceased parent. Equal inheritance for children, rather than primogeniture, was provided.<sup>21</sup> The Salic law did not apply on the mainland in Frankish Greece, therefore women held a great deal more importance there than on the Crispo-held Cyclades.

The castros, with their castles, were more than fortresses for defense against outside invaders. They also were meant to awe local inhabitants since the buildings, with their high visibility, served to remind the Greeks that the Latins or their Greek allies were in charge. For this reason the *Assizes* made special rules about the castro castles: they could not be built without permission of the prince on mainland Greece, but it is not said if this same prohibition extended to the Archipelago.<sup>22</sup>

In addition to feudal law, the Italian merchants who settled in the island cities had their own mercantile codes which differed from the feudal codes that held jurisdiction in the countryside. The Latin church had its own code based upon the canons of ecclesiastical law, which added a further dimension to the legal systems of the Cyclades.

### *Island Society*

Despite the many problems associated with piracy in the early fifteenth century, the island economy showed remarkable resiliency. The status of serfdom was on the wane, as agricultural prosperity allowed peasants to pass from *villani* to *contadini*, people who enjoyed free status. The *cittadini*, the Latin and Greek landowning class, were quite willing to allow the few feudal obligations to be commuted to money payments. The dukes supported themselves from rights to salt and mineral production and from excise taxes levied on agricultural products. During the

<sup>20</sup> Topping, *Feudal Institutions*, p.130.

<sup>21</sup> Topping, *Feudal Institutions*, p.134-36.

<sup>22</sup> Topping, *Feudal Institutions*, p.114-15, 128.

Middle Ages there was apparently little attention given to quarrying the marble and limestone resources of the islands in sharp contrast to the stone working of ancient Greek islanders.<sup>23</sup>

Shipping and commerce provided the Latin and Greek lords major opportunities to increase their revenues from rents. The great Venetian routes to the East were close at hand; galleys which went to Beirut and Alexandria stopped in Crete where ships from the Cyclades might join them. The shipping lane to Constantinople, Tana, Sinope, and Trebizond which left Venice in late July each year passed between Evvoia and Kea. Since Kea's harbor provided an excellent mooring, it was easy for Archipelagan ships to join the Venetian convoy on its way to the East. From the Black Sea ports came furs and slaves, silks and carpets. Merchants did their selling and buying quickly since it was important for the Venetians to be back in Italy in time for Venice's great autumn fair. Native island products which could be traded were primarily agricultural: grains, olive oil and wine.<sup>24</sup>

In the decade between 1410 and 1420 Christoforo Buondelmonti, the first Western visitor to the islands who has left a journal of his travels, appeared in the Cyclades. He was a priest from Florence who spent several years visiting in the East Mediterranean. His account and that of later travellers provides a new source of material hitherto lacking to supplement the early histories and Venetian archival material. Unfortunately travellers to the Cyclades were often interested in matters which do not provide the kind of information which modern historians find useful.

When he visited Naxos Buondelmonti found it to be very rich, covered with grape vines which produced a great quantity of wine. He noted that this was Bacchus' island and he mentions seeing a

<sup>23</sup> Slot, *Archipelagus*, pp.48-49; David Jacoby, "Les états latins en Romanie: phénomènes sociaux et économiques, 1204-1350 environ," *XVe Congrès international des études byzantines. Histoire* (Athens, 1976), I, 14-15. Some coins of the dukes have been published by P. Lambros, "Monnaies inédits des ducs de Naxos," *Revue numismatique*, series 3, V (1887), 278-80 and by G. Schlumberger, *Numismatique de l'Orient latin* (Paris, 1878), p.395.

<sup>24</sup> Colin Thubron, *The Venetians in Time-Life Series. The Seafarers* (Alexandria, Va., 1980), pp.8-48; McNeill, *Venice*, pp.70-72.

statue of the god pictured as a child riding on the back of two tigers.

Buondelmonti was impressed by the bees on Naxos whose stings were so bad they caused death. The object which most caught his attention was the large number of unmarried women who were such, "not out of divine zeal or love of virginity," but because of the shortage of men. The upper class was still speaking Italian as their native language but immigrants who were second or third generation became Greek-speaking, although usually Catholic in their religion.<sup>25</sup>

These were the *gasmouli*, born of Italian fathers and Greek mothers. They were considered to enjoy the social rank of their fathers and were counted as members of the *contadini* class. Nevertheless they had a bad reputation with the Latin clergy. A Latin author writing of them in 1333 says, "They are not strong in the faith. They do not keep their promises, they lie, are inclined to evil, are totally ignorant, faithless to their sovereigns, full of suspicious behavior, eager to betray, cruel, with little pity, eager to murder, restless and always moving about."<sup>26</sup> Some went to the Orthodox churches and thought nothing of marrying outside the Latin community.<sup>27</sup>

### *The Crispo Dukes in Mid-Century*

No duke of the Archipelago could hold office without some contest over the possession of Andros. Now it was the Zeno family that had to be dealt with as rivals to the Crispi. Giacomo II had married into the Zeno family and thanks to his wife's claims occupied Andros in 1437 upon the death of her father. This action angered the Venetians who claimed foul; Andros was theirs to govern. Once more a duke of the Archipelago was threatened by Venice: either withdraw his soldiers from the island or face

<sup>25</sup> Christoforo Buondelmonti, *Liber insularum Archipelagi* (G.R.L. de Sinner, ed., Berlin, 1824), p.210.

<sup>26</sup> *Directorium ad Passagium faciendum* in *Recueil des historiens des Croisades: Documents arméniens* (2 vols., Paris, 1869-1906), II, 490-91.

<sup>27</sup> Jacoby, "États latins," pp.32-33.

reprisals from the Republic.<sup>28</sup>

Giacomo found a new ally at this time in the Knights of St. John. He invited the grandmaster on Rhodes to establish a commanderie on Naxos. The knights accepted this offer and from about 1440 there was always a contingent of knights with several of their galleys stationed in the Naxos harbor.<sup>29</sup>

A second traveller appeared in the Cyclades at this time, Ciriaco of Ancona. He visited Naxos in 1445 where he was anxious to examine the great temple doorway of Lygdamis' temple. He toured the towns of the Naxian interior and climbed "a hill called Apollo's." In his search for ancient monuments and inscriptions Ciriaco delighted in a visit to Delos, thence moving onwards to Paros.<sup>30</sup>

When Giacomo died in 1447, the Venetians were quite anxious about the succession. He was in his second marriage at the time and left his wife Ginevra Gattilusio pregnant with his heir Gian Giacomo.<sup>31</sup> The threat of Ottoman power hung over the whole of the Aegean as Mehmet II prepared to make a final bid for the city of Constantinople. Venice did not want a weak ruler in Naxos.

The regency passed to a great-uncle Niccolò when Gian Giacomo was born. Niccolò had been ruling Santorini previous to his call to Naxos. While he governed the Archipelago Pope Nicholas V declared a Holy Year for 1450. The Duchess Francesca Morosini, grandmother of Gian Giacomo, responded to the papal proclamation by donating the newly-constructed church of St. Anthony the Abbot to the Knights of St. John. This church was built outside the castro close to the harbor, near the place where the Knights moored their boats. To assist the Knights a generous donation was given to the grandmaster each year.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>28</sup> Thiriet, *Sénat*, III, 2439, May 11, 1437; Stefano Magno, *Annali*, p.189.

<sup>29</sup> Saulger, *Histoire*, pp.220-22.

<sup>30</sup> Ciriaco of Ancona, *Itinerarium*, Vat. Lat. 5253 unpublished MS collection of Edward Bodnar, s.j., Georgetown University.

<sup>31</sup> Thiriet, *Sénat*, III, 2627 Mar. 19, 1448.

<sup>32</sup> N.A. Kephallindis, "Ο ναὸς Ἀγίου Ἀντωνίου τοῦ Ἀββᾶ εἰς Νάξον," *EEKM*, VIII (1920), 330.

Another Naxian church, this one Orthodox, dedicated to St. Elias, also dates from the mid-fifteenth century. Testifying to the good relationship with the Byzantine emperors — they had become joined to the Catholic church after the Council of Ferrara-Florence — a Palaeologian monogram is found on the church: four *betas*, standing for "the king of kings, who rules over kings," Duchess Francesca was also its patron.<sup>33</sup>

Niccolò's regency lasted but a few years, when upon his death still one more great-uncle Guillelmo assumed guardianship for the young Gian Giacomo. The boy died in 1453 at only seven years of age while Guillelmo governed in his name. This was also the fateful year for the Byzantine empire and its capital Constantinople. The duke may well have wondered what lay in store for him and his island domain.

Guillelmo had no choice but to join the other surviving Latin rulers in sending congratulations either in person or by delegates to Mehmet II at Edirne. Only the Knights of St. John were strong enough to ignore the new ruler of Constantinople. The duke offered a gift to the sultan and hoped, in return, to be left alone.<sup>34</sup> Later Mehmet received word that Christian pirates who preyed upon Muslims were receiving supplies from Naxos. He sent a fleet to the island but no information is had whether Mehmet's admiral, Yumus Pasha, reached there. A storm which destroyed twenty-five Ottoman galleys may well have dissuaded him from attacking the duchy. The Turks did oust Dorino II Gattilusio of Samothrace, exiling him to Macedonia. Later he escaped to Naxos where he married Elisabetta Crispo, daughter of Giacomo I.<sup>35</sup>

Fortunately Venice decided on making peace with Mehmet and once more took the Archipelago under its wing. In the treaty signed April 18, 1454 the duchy was included in the provision which established guide-lines for future relations between the Turks and Venice. Mehmet wanted time to consolidate his victory

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.325-29.

<sup>34</sup> Morosini, *Historia della Città*, pp.533-34; Heyd, *Histoire du commerce*, II, 303; Stefano Magno, *Annali*, pp.196-97.

<sup>35</sup> Kritoboulos, *History of Mehmet the Conqueror* (C.T. Riggs, trans., Princeton, 1954), p.96.



over the Byzantine Empire. Venice was still a formidable force with 100 galleys and 20,000 men in its navy.<sup>36</sup>

Guillelmo gave thanks for his deliverance by journeying with the bishop of Naxos to Patmos' famous monastery dedicated to St. John. Here he donated a silver lamp as an offering in fulfillment of a vow.<sup>37</sup>

The rule of the duke encompassed some seven islands at mid-century; the others were ruled by Latin families that were nominally vassals of Naxos but in fact were continually enlarging the circle of their autonomy. To provide for a son born out of wedlock, Guillelmo bestowed a fief near Filoti which included pastures, orchards and wells in return for an apple every Christmas day. Guillelmo also had a daughter, but Salian law kept her from succeeding her father.<sup>38</sup>

According to Saulger, as he grew more feeble due to advancing years, the duke became a frequenter of the hot baths on the island of Milos. He overdid it and died in 1463 from too many visits. There had been considerable discussion over a successor, which included Venetian authorities, and an agreement had been reached that Francesco a nephew, would follow him. However, he was not well. Francesco was advised to seek out a doctor at Coron. While there, in the same year he had obtained office, he died, leaving his son Giacomo as heir to the duchy.<sup>39</sup>

### *The Venetian Wars and the Archipelago*

Giacomo III was under the tutelage of his mother, Guillelmino, until he came of age. It was not a good time to inherit the duchy. A major war broke out between Venice and the Ottomans which was

<sup>36</sup> S. Romanin, *Storia documentata di Venezia* (10 vols., Venice, 1855-61), IV, 261; Heyd, *Histoire du commerce*, II, 316; Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte*, III, 9-17.

<sup>37</sup> Saulger, *Histoire*, pp.228-29.

<sup>38</sup> Zerlentes, "Γράμματα Φράγκων δουκῶν," pp.150-51.

<sup>39</sup> Saulger, *Histoire*, pp.230-31; Thiriet, *Sénat*, III, 3062 and 3076 July 28, 1458 and Mar. 1, 1459; La Monte, "Chronology," p.187.

to last for the next sixteen years. Giacomo did what he could to assist the Venetians. He outfitted several galleys to join the flotilla based at Nauplion on the Greek mainland.

In 1470 the frightening news arrived in Naxos that Negroponte, the anchor of Venice's empire in the East, had fallen to the Turks after a difficult siege. There was little doubt that the Archipelago was in even greater danger. The Ottomans raided Naxos five years later, but the damage was soon repaired and when Venice and Sultan Bayezit signed a peace treaty in 1479 which required Venice to pay 50,000 ducats annually to the Porte, the Archipelago could breathe easily once again.<sup>40</sup>

This respite allowed Giacomo to plan a wedding for his daughter Fiorenza that surpassed any celebration which had previously taken place in the islands. He had betrothed Fiorenza to Domenico Pisani, who was Lord of Santorini. The festivities brought all the Archipelago's nobility to Skaros where for a whole month the young couple, their friends, and relatives were entertained.<sup>41</sup>

In 1480 Giovanni III, his brother, became duke. No friend of the Pisani, he seized Santorini from his niece and her husband, placing the island once more under Naxos' direct rule.

Giovanni's efforts to raise taxes on Naxos made him very unpopular with the Greek population of the island. In desperation rebels, led by the *archontes*, took up arms against the duke's forces. They surrounded Naxos' castro, blockading the duke and the Catholic families loyal to him. While the siege was in progress galleys of the Knights of St. John arrived in the Naxos harbor. They rescued the duke and for a time the rebellion was quelled. However, in 1494 discontented citizens apparently killed Giovanni by poison and a delegation from the Archipelago appealed for Venice to intervene directly since his heir, a young boy named Francesco, was too young to manage affairs.<sup>42</sup>

<sup>40</sup> Saulger, *Histoire*, pp.250-58; Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte*, III 155-56.

<sup>41</sup> Saulger, *Histoire*, p.259.

<sup>42</sup> Stefano Magno, *Annali*, p.209; William Miller, *Essays on the Latin Orient* (Cambridge, 1921), p.172; Setton, *Papacy and the Levant*, II, 453-54. There exists a family tree of the dukes in the Museo Correr in Venice dating

The Venetians had not been anxious to intervene despite the Archipelago's proximity to their own Cycladic islands. Events were to prove that they regarded their stay on Naxos only a temporary one. There were but three governors who served as Venetian representatives on Naxos.

The presence of the Venetians brought greater security to the Aegean as the Republic's galleys made more frequent calls in the Archipelago's harbors. Nevertheless in 1500 Venice agreed to turn over its rule to the young Francesco on a promise that he should not repeat the mistakes of his father. In the previous year one more conflict commenced between Venice and the Ottomans so that Francesco's inauguration did not commence at a propitious time. Venetians and Turks were engaged for four years, exposing the small islands of the Archipelago to Ottoman landings both from privateers and Turkish naval vessels.

In sixteenth century warfare the Venetians wore plate armor over their shirts and helmets on their heads. Their weapons were hand firearms and harquebuses, which were not able to shoot long distances with any degree of accuracy. The Turks covered themselves with chain mail and preferred bows and arrows to pistols. Their bows were composite made with layers of wood glued together. The bowstring was crafted with bone and sinew fibers. Trained soldiers could fire their arrows with remarkable accuracy, piercing armor at a distance of one hundred yards. The Venetian advantage appeared at closer quarters since the archers had to stand up in order to pull their bows. Once a galley was boarded a battle with swords and maces was fought similar to an encounter on land.

Duke Francesco III brought his Naxian fleet to serve with the Venetians but no amount of Archipelagan help could tip the scales to the Christians. The Turks seemed to enjoy unlimited resources in their drive against the Republic whose energies were rapidly

from this period. Possibly it was drawn up in response to the quarrel over Santorini between the Crispi and Pisani. See William Miller, "Der älteste Stammbaum der Herzöge von Naxos," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, XVI (1907), 258-61.

being sapped by its continuous series of wars against the sultans as well as its enemies in Italy.<sup>43</sup>

In 1509 when Francesco was at sea with the Venetians it was noticed that his behavior was sufficiently strange that the captain held him in custody for a time. Later he was released and returned to Naxos.

In the following year, on the night of the Assumption, August 15, the duke's illness returned. He threatened to kill his wife Caterina Loredano. She fled from the palace in her nightgown to the house of an aunt, Lucrezia. For two days the women awaited events fearing for their lives. Then Francesco appeared at the door of the house, forced it open and struck the aunt and her servant several blows. The duchess had hidden herself under a large wash tub, but another frightened servant pointed out her presence to the duke. He threw off the tub and brought his sword down upon Caterina's head. She partially deflected the stroke with her arm but fell to the ground. Francesco then stabbed her in the stomach. Although she lived for another day, her wounds proved fatal.

The murder of the duchess aroused the castro's inhabitants who met together in the emergency deciding that they must depose the duke. Meanwhile in the palace Francesco turned his wrath upon his son Giovanni. He chased him through several rooms but the boy, finding an outside balcony, jumped to the ground and escaped. The duke rushed to the harbor and commandeered a boat and crew to take him to Rhodes. Venetian authorities caught up with him on Santorini. They took him to Crete where he eventually died.<sup>44</sup>

From 1511 to 1518 Venetian governors once more appeared on Naxos. The first was Antonio Loredano, brother of the deceased Caterina and uncle to the heir. By 1518 Giovanni IV was of age to assume the ducal title.

<sup>43</sup> Saulger, *Histoire*, pp.272-79; Pietro Bembo, *Opera*. Vol. I. *Rerum venetarum historiae* (Venice, 1729) 109-25; Thubron, *The Venetians*, p.116.

<sup>44</sup> Marino Sanudo, *I Diarii di Marino Sanudo, 1496-1533* (58 vols., Venice, 1897-1903), XI, 393-94; Miller, *Essays*, pp. 175-79; La Monte, "Chronology," p.187.

*Twilight of the Archipelago*

The rule of Giovanni IV was to extend for the next forty-six years, until 1564. He inherited all of the problems which may well have brought on his father's illness. For awhile he was a Turkish captive and had to be ransomed by the Venetians. His single hope for survival lay in Venetian ability to hold off the Turks. Fortunately in Istanbul the sultan's advisors at this time apparently considered the Cyclades of such little importance that they did not consider their capture worth the effort. When Süleyman thought of a worthy opponent in the Aegean his attention turned towards Rhodes. Here the Knights of St. John still held forth, thwarting Turkish efforts to control the commerce of the Eastern Aegean and the trade routes to the Levant and Egypt, now a part of the Ottoman Empire.

In December 1522 Sultan Süleyman's army, now numbering perhaps one hundred thousand men, descended upon Rhodes. The Grand-master Philippe Villiers de L'Isle Adam appealed to all Christians to come to the aid of the isolated and outnumbered garrison. There was little Giovanni could do. The Knights were left to their fate. Despite repulsing several major attacks the walls of the Knights' fort on Rhodes had been so damaged that further resistance was impossible. The grand-master sought terms: the Turkish general was generous allowing the remaining knights to leave the island in twelve days.<sup>45</sup>

The fall of Rhodes meant that the Latin archbishopric of the Aegean was transferred from that island to Naxos. Pope Clement VII named a local priest, Iakovos Koppos, to the office. The Knights' commanderie on Naxos had to be disbanded and its church, St. Anthony the Abbot, with its considerable revenue, was given to the archbishop for his support. Duke Giovanni may well have wondered whether an archbishop could do much to defend his increasingly exposed empire from the Turks. In a more

<sup>45</sup> Ernest Charrière, *Négociations de la France dans le Levant* (4 vols., Paris, 1848-60) I, 84-85; Eric Brockman, *The Two Sieges of Rhodes, 1480-1522* (London, 1962), pp.111-55.

substantial way the presence of a French ambassador in Istanbul served to protect the Catholics of the Ottoman Empire and assisted the interests of the Archipelago.<sup>46</sup>

Twice between 1522 and 1537 Giovanni visited Venice to plead his cause before the Republic's authorities for more ships and money to strengthen island defenses. The close alliance he sought with the Republic did not always have the desired effect. In 1537 Duke Giovanni was to find that out.

### *Barbarossa's Attack*

In 1537 Hayruddin Barbarossa, admiral of Sultan Süleyman's fleet, arrived in the Aegean to take out his frustrations on the Cyclades. Hayruddin had been invited to join Ottoman service several years earlier. After arriving in Istanbul he convinced Süleyman of the need for building up the Turkish fleet so that it should become a much stronger force.

In May 1537 Barbarossa sailed out of the Golden Horn with perhaps two hundred vessels to invade Italy at a time when it was preoccupied with internal conflicts due to the rivalry of its cities. Süleyman was to bring the army to Albania where it would ferry across to Brindisi. The French king Francis I intended to attack the Habsburg possessions in Italy in concert with the Turks. The plan misfired; the French king changed his mind and the governor of Brindisi's scheme to betray his city to the Turks was exposed so that the Ottoman army could not safely be landed in Italy.<sup>47</sup>

Süleyman's anger was great. He ordered Barbarossa to invest Kerkyra (Corfu) the strongest Venetian fort of the Ionian Islands. Despite his superior armaments and army, Barbarossa could not break into the Venetian fortress. Once the siege was lifted, he ravaged the other less defended Ionian islands and then struck out

<sup>46</sup> Giorgio Fedalto, *La Chiesa Latina*, II, 164; Georg Hofmann, *Veşcovădi Cattolici della Grecia. Naxos in Orientalia Christiana Analecta, CXV* (1938), p.11.

<sup>47</sup> Ernle Bradford, *The Sultan's Admiral* (London, 1968), pp.117-22; Roger B. Merriman, *Suleiman the Magnificent, 1520-1566* (Cambridge, Mass., 1944), pp. 212ff.

for the Aegean. Kithira at the bottom of the Peloponnesus was pillaged, then the fleet sailed into Aiyina's harbor. The Turkish troops advanced on its capital, Chora (now Palaiochora) looting everything that could be taken and capturing thousands of people.

Barbarossa then directed his helmsman to proceed into the heart of the Cyclades. Off the coast of Paros the Ottoman fleet anchored. Bernardo Sagredo, at that time lord of the island, resisted for no more than three days and surrendered.<sup>48</sup>

The Turkish commander then sent a messenger to Naxos to meet with Giovanni IV who had already learned of Paros' fate. Barbarossa demanded that the duke pay him tribute and accept a vassal's status. Turkish soldiers occupied the Bourgo while the duke was meeting with his advisors at Apanokastro. It was decided there was no choice but to agree to Turkish demands although the Latins knew that Barbarossa did not really want to undertake a winter siege of Apanokastro since the rewards would not be that great. The duke, therefore, turned over 6000 ducats (some sources say 5000) to the Ottoman admiral and promised that in the future, as a vassal, he would send an additional 5000 ducats to Istanbul annually. The Turks agreed to this arrangement.

Barbarossa left Naxian waters. One part of his fleet sailed to Kea, another to Kithnos while small expeditions demanded tribute of Amorgos, Mikonos, Anafi, Ios and Astipalaia. When he sailed back into Istanbul's harbor Barbarossa's galley carried several thousand captives to be sold as slaves and thousands of ducats which had been received as tribute.<sup>49</sup> One of the Latin women was Cecilia Venier, a daughter of the most distinguished family of Paros whose father had once been lord of the island. She became one of the women of the harem. As Sultana Nur Banu she enjoyed significant influence at the Ottoman court and her son, Murat III, held the sultanate after 1574.<sup>50</sup>

<sup>48</sup> B.J. Slot, "Η Τουρκική κατάκτησις τῶν Κυκλάδων, 1537-1538," *Κυμωλικά* VII (1978), 62-64.

<sup>49</sup> Saulger, *Histoire*, pp.292-93; Slot, *Archipelagus*, I, 73-75; Account of Theodoro Spandugnino in Sathas, *Μνημεία*, IX, 199-200.

<sup>50</sup> E. Spagni, "Una sultana veneziana, " *Nuovo Archivio Veneto*, XXIX (1900), 241-48.

In the following spring Barbarossa once more directed his fleet into the Aegean. He first landed on Skiathos where the Venetians held a fort dedicated to St. George. His soldiers came to Koukounaries Bay and after seven days the island surrendered. "A great number of infidels were slain and 3800 taken prisoner," according to the Turkish historian Haji Khalifeh.<sup>51</sup> Thence the Turks took the nearby islands, Skopelos and Skiros. Their next destination was Tinos, then Andros and finally Naxos where Duke Giovanni paid his ducats according to the agreement reached a year before.

Giovanni was not idle during the months following Barbarossa's invasion. On December 1, 1537 he or a close aide addressed a letter to Pope Paul III and the Christian princes of Eruope. In it he recounted the Ottoman attack on his duchy; how the people of the island had run into the castro for safety when they heard what had happened on Paros. He professed that "the most atrocious and terrible events took place before our very eyes." In the Bourgo of Naxos Barbarossa's men robbed the oil and grain supplies and began tearing away at the castro walls.

The duke and his advisors were informed by a Turkish messenger of their options: to become a tributary or to decide the issue through battle. "Having heard this we decided to submit. We became subject to the yoke of the sultan" . . . and paid the 5000 ducats. This, he complained, was half his annual income.

Now Giovanni warned the Christian princes and the pope that they must recognize their own danger, and see how necessary it was for them to unite to form a common defense. Indecision is fraught with peril. A crusade must push the Turks from the Aegean and then "regain the tomb of the Lord."<sup>52</sup> This letter may have been responsible for the formation of a Holy League which brought together the papacy, Venice and the Habsburgs. The

<sup>51</sup> Khalifeh, *The History of the Maritime Wars of the Turks*, (J. Mitchell, trans., London, 1831), pp. 59-61; Vincenzo Coronelli, *Arcipelago, Venice*, c.1707, p.8.

<sup>52</sup> Philip Lonicerus, *Chronicorum turcicorum* . . . (2 vols. in 1 Frankfort, 1584) I, 133-61.



Genoese admiral Andrea Doria took to the sea to search out Barbarossa. The two fleets met at Preveza off the western coast of Greece, but unfortunately for the Christian cause Doria although he held an advantage, let the moment pass.

By 1540 the Holy League had abandoned its war with the Turks. Except for Tinos, which returned to Venetian control after only a year under the Turks, all the remaining island princes were confirmed as Ottoman tributaries. Each year the Turks collected large sums of coins from the Latin lords. At first, although the demands were heavy, a cycle of prosperity on the larger islands allowed the duke and the other lords to make their payments. In addition to the official sums collected, the Latins also had to provide "gifts" to the Ottoman officials who collected the tax.<sup>53</sup>

After a few years Giovanni had to raise the taxes on the Naxian population. The Greek peasants were pressured to produce more so that the tribute, the *haraç*, could be met. Some of the smaller islands became so impoverished that the whole population abandoned them. Conflicts between the Latin upper class and the Greeks seemed to grow more bitter than usual.

This may partially be explained by the recent appearance in the duchy of Greek clergy coming to the islands from the patriarchate of Constantinople. After 1537 the Turks demanded that the native Greeks should have clerics in union with the patriarch of Constantinople, not the Roman pope. All were opponents of the Latins and agitated their parishoners against the Catholic clergy and landowners.<sup>54</sup> The Latin archbishop of Naxos after 1540, Sebastiano Lecavella (Dalla Cavella), was a Greek Dominican of Chios and an Ottoman subject. One account claims that the Turks arrested him on the excuse he held no *berat*, a letter of appointment from the sultan which allowed him to hold office. Giovanni seems to have enjoyed the archbishop's predicament for they had been at odds over the revenues attached to the church of St. Anthony the Abbot and several vacant bishoprics in the

<sup>53</sup> Slot, *Archipelagus*, I, 78.

<sup>54</sup> Michael Le Quien, *Oriens christianus* (3 vols., Paris, 1740), I, 940; Hofmann, *Naxos*, p.25; William Miller, "Two Letters of Giovanni IV, Duke of the Archipelago," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, XVII (1908), 466-67.

Aegean. Indeed Giovanni once threatened to join the Catholics to the patriarchate because of his problems with the clergy. Lecavella was later ransomed, or possibly was promoted to a better position, moved to Italy, and died in Rome in 1566.

Duke Giovanni did without an archbishop after Lecavella's departure. Roman officials considered one man while he wanted another. His candidate, Francesco Pisani, held the title but never visited Naxos. During this time, while the Latin archbishop was away, Giovanni also clashed with Theonas the Greek bishop whom the patriarchate had sent to Naxos. In 1559 Giovanni ordered him into exile, but a successor, Benjamin, to whom the duke transferred three Greek monasteries and their revenues, proved equally difficult to deal with and complained to the sultan that the Latins on the island were not loyal subjects. The Catholic presence nevertheless was enhanced by a Franciscan Observant friary which had opened just outside Naxos town in 1535.<sup>55</sup>

By 1563 a Venetian diplomat described the situation in the Cyclades as deplorable. He stated that only five islands in the Duchy still had people living on them: Naxos, Milos, Siros, Paros and Santorini. While not to be taken literally there is little doubt that the smaller islands had been largely depopulated.<sup>56</sup>

The duke was described as isolated and poor. Every Turkish captain in the Aegean was stopping on Naxos for a "gift." His sole preoccupation was how to pay his bills, since his income had fallen to 10,000 ducats. "He is clothed and lives in a miserable way, without any pomp, no princely activity or any kind of ceremony." The Greeks believed they would be better off under direct rule from Istanbul. On Naxos the situation was so different from "the incredible devotion shown to the Republic by the Tiniotes."<sup>57</sup>

<sup>55</sup> Fedalto, *Chiesa*, II, 163-64; E. Remoundou, "Κατάλογος Λατίνων," III, 131-32.

<sup>56</sup> Vladimir Lamansky, *Secrets d'état de Venice* (St. Petersburg, 1884), p.654; F.W. Hasluck, "Depopulation in the Aegean Islands and the Turkish Conquest," *Annual of the British School at Athens*, XVII (1910-11), 158.

<sup>57</sup> Lamansky, *Sécrets*, p.655.

As 1564 drew to a close Giovanni died, leaving Naxos to his son Giacomo IV, who was then governing Paros and Santorini in his father's name. His wife was Cecilia Sommaripa. At the time of Giacomo's accession there were about 6000 people living on Naxos, 500 of them Latins. The latter were well supplied with clergy, some twenty-six priests made their home on Naxos; the better off were canons of the cathedral. Without a bishop to supervise their activities clerical life was carefree. One priest publically presided at the funeral of his mistress with the other clergy in attendance.

The helplessness of his situation caused Giacomo to drink to excess and when this occurred he was often violent. The other Latins of the castro joined in his drinking bouts, only a few hours each week were devoted to government.

After little over a year the Greek population decided that they had had enough. One report has it that two deputies secretly went off to Istanbul to invite the sultan's government to assume direct control of the island. When Giacomo learned of this he left for the capital himself, bringing with him enough ducats to persuade officials at the Porte of his position. His visit proved to be a disaster; he was put into prison where he remained for the next half year.<sup>58</sup>

Another account says that Sultan Selim II had decided to appoint his friend Joseph Nasi as duke. The admiral Piyale Pasha sailed to Naxos to inform the population of what had happened after replacing the Genoese governors on Chios. This was part of a general scheme to eliminate the remaining Christian states in the Aegean. Joseph Nasi, a Marrano who had returned to Judaism after taking up residence in Istanbul, was happy to have the title duke of Naxos and receive the revenues of the island but had no intention of living there. His palace, the Belvedere, was located on the coast of the Bosphorus. Therefore his aide, Francesco Coronello, also a Marrano but one who ostensibly remained a Catholic, took up his position on Naxos.<sup>59</sup>

<sup>58</sup> Saulger, *Histoire*, pp.298-99; Hofmann, *Naxos*, p.17.

<sup>59</sup> Saulger, *Histoire*, p.301; Cecil Roth, *The House of Nasi: the Duke of*

In 1566 the Duchy of the Archipelago with its rulers, the Crispo dukes, came to an end. A new era, with the Ottoman government exercising control over Naxos began with the appointment of Joseph Nasi. Later Duke Giacomo left Istanbul; he went to Venice where he apparently ceded all his rights to the Republic. During the Venetian-Turkish war over Cyprus Giacomo held a military commission but never returned to Naxos despite a short occupation of the island by the Republic's forces. He died in 1576 while living in Venice, the last of the twenty Christian dukes of the Archipelago.

## CHAPTER SIX

### *The Archipelago in the Crispo Era*

#### *Milos*

During the Crispo dynasty's rule on Naxos the island of Milos remained its most prized possession. The dukes of Naxos were frequent visitors to the island and the palace on Apanokastro. When they were absent their children were often present as governors.

The number of Latin settlers was sufficient to have a Catholic bishop named to Milos, but many were only titular. The Catholic churches in the capital were four.<sup>1</sup> When a visitor to Milos in 1844 visited the city he could still find an inscription of Giovanni Crispo.<sup>2</sup> Another town grew up in the central plain of the island due to the growing commercial importance of Milos in the late Middle Ages. It was at the site of Zephyria where two churches still remain marking the location.

The last resident Latin bishop was Niccolò Bruno named in 1511; after that the Catholic population grew to be so slim that once more only titulars held the office.<sup>3</sup> Nearby Kimolos was probably uninhabited.

#### *Paros*

The Crispo hold on Paros was never very secure since soon after the coup which brought Duke Francesco I to power the Sommaripas, based on their marriages with the Crispi, claimed the island for themselves. Despite Paros' proximity to Naxos, the

<sup>1</sup> Z. Beos, *Ναὸι καὶ ναύδρια*, pp.57-67.

<sup>2</sup> Ludwig Ross, *Reisen auf den griechischen Inseln* (3 vols. in 1, Stuttgart and Tübingen, 1840-1845), III, 20.

<sup>3</sup> G. Fedalto, *La Chiesa Latina*, II, 150-52.

dukes never really established direct control after 1390 when Maria Crispo, sister of Niccolò II, married Crusino Sommaripa. Two other Latin families were found joining the Sommaripas as lords of the island, the Venieri and Sagredi. About 3000 people were to be found on the island in the late Middle Ages.

When Ciriaco of Ancona visited Paros in April 1445 Crusino Sammaripa was delighted to host his guest. He, like Ciriaco, was an amateur archaeologist and together they explored the remaining monuments of the classical period. Some were restored thanks to Crusino's interest.<sup>4</sup>

The Sommaripas held four castros on Paros. Their residence was at Paroikia where the strongest was located. It was remodeled by them shortly after their appearance on the island. A second castle and fort, dating from the fifteenth century, was used by the Sommaripas when they visited Naousa which had a fine harbor on the north of the island. Here too, they constructed a Catholic church dedicated to St. George. Inland there were castros at Agoussa and on the mountain of Kephalos.<sup>5</sup>

Turkish raids began in the fifteenth century which required constant concern for the welfare of the inhabitants. Moreover, Giovanni IV Crispo did everything in his power to assert his authority over Paros when the last of the Sommaripas died. Venice resisted his claims. In 1537 when Barbarossa's fleet came into the Cyclades, Paros was the first island to suffer; Kephalos summit was the site of the last stand of Bernardo Sagredo, who had become prince by marriage to Cecilia Venier (not the lady of the same name taken to Istanbul). Afterwards the former castro was converted into the now deserted monastery of St. Anthony. The island's population was either killed or enslaved by the Turkish admiral. The deserted island became a possession of Giovanni IV now that it no longer mattered.

The small island of Antiparos which lies to the east of the island holds one of the most interesting castros, and one of the

<sup>4</sup> Ciriaco of Ancona, *Itinerarium*.

<sup>5</sup> H. Eberhard, "Mittelalterliche Burgen," p.280.

best studied, in all the Cyclades. When Buondelmonti came to see the island early in the fifteenth century he found it uninhabited; the island was only the home of birds. But around 1440 a Loredano built the castro in order to attract colonists. The settlement would have held 250 to 300 people. Antiparos was famous in the Cyclades for its cave, one of the best in the islands, and still a tourist attraction today.<sup>6</sup>

### *Ios*

Buondelmonti claims that there was only one castro when he visited Ios. The population was so frightened of pirates that after sunset everyone went into it for safety. When morning came the older people opened the gates to see if any pirates had come during the night and only then were the people willing to go to their farms. The number of inhabitants was very small.<sup>7</sup>

A second castro was built around 1517 on the remote north side of the island near Ayios Theodotis by Aloisio Pisani. Little remains of this castro except for its walls. Today it can be reached only by a six-hour mule ride. Until mid-century it was the Pisani who were lords of the island until deposed by Barbarossa's expedition. One account claims that in 1558 the whole population was deported.<sup>8</sup>

### *Sifnos*

Sifnos was the capital of the Gozzadini family. The castro of the island which bordered the sea was well defended. It was the marriage of Maria Da Corogna to Niccolò Gozzadini which brought the island into the family.

The economy of this island, more favored with adequate water supplies than its neighbors, was stronger and provided both

<sup>6</sup> M. Philippa-Apostolou, *Τὸ κάστρο τῆς Ἀντίπαρου* (Athens, 1978), pp. 13-16.

<sup>7</sup> Buondelmonti, *Liber insularum*, p.215; Miller, *Essays*, p.170.

<sup>8</sup> Giorgios Stinis, *Ἡ Φραγκοκρατία στὴ Νιό* (Athens, 1978), pp.23-29.

Greeks and Latins a good income. The same could not be said for Sikinos and Folegandros where the population was content to subsist through farm-ing or Poliaigos and Giaros which were completely uninhabited.<sup>9</sup>

### *Kithnos*

The other star in the Gozzadini firmament was Kithnos. Here from 1337 to 1537 a series of Gozzadini relatives held forth. Buondelmonti was impressed by the size of the island's population. Some time in the late Middle Ages the Latin landowners began leaving Katakephalou for the inland town of Messaria. A tower and Catholic church was built to accomodate them.<sup>10</sup>

In the 1537 attack on the Cyclades the population either fled or was captured so that the island was uninhabited for several decades. The Gozzadini were able to attract colonists at that time and Messaria was once more a living town but not, apparently, Katakephalou.

The Gozzadini lords, by paying tribute to the Turks, were able to hold onto their islands until 1617, longer than any other Cycladic dynasty. By this time the members of the family had joined the Orthodox church and transferred the remaining Catholic churches to the natives.<sup>11</sup>

### *Andros*

As one of the larger Cyclades Andros was a prize worth contesting and the mastery of the island was always high on the list of Crispo goals.

Maria Sanudo, half-sister of the last duke of that dynasty, held

<sup>9</sup> Karl Hopf, "Gozzadini," in Ersch and Gruber, *Allgemeine Encyklopädie der Wissenschaften und Künste*, LXXVI, 415-19; Anastasia Tzakou, "Sifnos," in *Greek Traditional Architecture* (Dimitri Philippides, ed., Athens, 1983), II, 181.

<sup>10</sup> Buondelmonti, *Liber insularum*, p.198; Antonio Gounaris, *Ἡ Κύθνος* (Athens, 1938), pp.106-19.

<sup>11</sup> Slot, *Archipelagus*, I, 114.



the island at the time the coup on Naxos occurred bringing the Crispi to power. Her husband was a Sommaripa and together they lived on Paros. As has been seen, Francesco I did not want to recognize her claims and gave Andros to his daughter Petronilla for part of her dowry when she married Pietro Zeno. It was the Zeni who actually made their residence in Katokastro of Andros.

For the next fifty years a sterile conflict over the rightful sovereignty of Andros continued between Zeno, the Sanudo-Sommaripas, the Crispi, and Venice to whom the island had been assigned in the 1204 partition treaty. Zeno was very active politically though erratic in his behavior. At one time he tried to convince Venice of the need for a coalition of Latin Christians to fight the Turks; later he aided Ottoman captains with provisions when they stopped at the Andros castro. At another time Zeno even suggested an alliance with the Byzantine emperor to oust the Latins. When his son Andrea died, Giacomo Crispo held Andros for three years.<sup>12</sup>

In 1440 the Venetian Senate intervened to nominate Crusino Sommaripa of Paros, son of Maria Sanudo, to rule the island. Later when Constantinople fell to the Turks Venetian authorities urged Crusino personally to go to Andros believing that he must give its defense his first priority.<sup>13</sup> But this was a difficult task; the island was underpopulated, holding only about 2000 people who were constantly harrassed by both Christian and Muslim pirates. In 1468 Giovanni Sommaripa died while defending his island against Turkish privateers. Another Ottoman attack came in 1470. It is possible that it was at this time Albanians from the mainland took advantage of the situation to move to the northern part of Andros.<sup>14</sup>

At the time of Barbarossa's attack on Tinos in 1538 Crusino III

<sup>12</sup> Polemis, *Ἱστορία τῆς Ἀνδρου*, pp.56-57; Cessi, *Storia della Repubblica*, I, 339; Karl Hopf, "Geschichte der Insel Andros", *SKAW*, XVI (Vienna, 1855), 47-75; Stefano Magno, *Annali* in Hopf, *Chroniques*, p.190.

<sup>13</sup> Sathas, *Μνημεία*, III, 136 Jan. 7, 1440; Thiriet, *Sénat*, 2929, June 30, 1453.

<sup>14</sup> F.W. Hasluck, "Albanian Settlements in the Aegean Islands," *Annual of the British School at Athens*, XV (1908-09), pp.223-24.

Sommaripa paid him tribute rather than experience a Turkish raid. His successor Gian Francesco Sommaripa was on Andros when the Ottomans removed Giacomo IV from Naxos. His rule was as oppressive as that of the Crispo duke with the result that in 1566 he, too, was ousted from office and Andros was placed under Duke Joseph Nasi. Crusino went to Naxos for refuge. It is estimated that the Latins on Andros were 50 to 60 families, about 200 people in all.<sup>15</sup>

The Latin cathedral on Andros, dedicated to St. Andrew, had a resident bishop only sporadically during the late Middle Ages. The bishops titular or resident signed their names at the councils of the fifteenth century. Those churches which may have been Catholic include St. Catherine's at Palaiopolis, St. John in Messaria, the Life-giving Spring at Apokioia and perhaps an additional ten others which served the landowners as personal chapels.<sup>16</sup>

### *Siros*

During the Crispo era of the Archipelago's history, the population of Siros was never large, hardly ever reaching one thousand people. This number was sufficient, however, to make it the most important Catholic community in the Cyclades formed both by Latin settlers and Greek converts.<sup>17</sup>

Siros was not a fertile island for agriculture. Buondelmonti found the people there very poor, eating only bread and rabbits. Fear of pirates was all pervasive " but because of their children, the bonds of family and love of their native land, they stay there with determination and are content with what they have."<sup>18</sup> In 1494 Stefano Magno reported that only 400 people were living on Siros.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Polemis, *Ἱστορία*, p.61; Hopf, *Geschichte*, pp.108-11.

<sup>16</sup> Paschalis, "Ἡ δυτική ἐκκλησία," pp. 130-33; Fedalto, *Chiesa Latina*, II, 37-39.

<sup>17</sup> Apostolos E. Bakalopoulos, *The Greek Nation, 1453-1669* (Ian and Phania Moles, trans., New Brunswick, 1976), p.15.

<sup>18</sup> Buondelmonti, *Liber insularum*, p.206.

<sup>19</sup> Stefano Magno, *Annali* in Hopf, *Chroniques*, p.209.

The Latin bishops of this island were, as on other islands, usually non-residents, often foreigners. Those who actually came to Siros during the Crispo era lived atop Ano Siros' mountain behind the harbor. Episcopal revenues were small, mainly coming from the ancient church of Our Lady of Piskopio. Barbarossa's attack was a serious blow to the well-being of Siros' inhabitants who henceforth were required to contribute to the funds which went to Istanbul. After 1566 the island became a possession of Duke Joseph Nasi.<sup>20</sup>

### *Santorini*

During the Crispo period Santorini's population lived in small villages in the island's interior. Lack of ground water made life precarious since farming was dependent on the amount of rainfall that could be stored from the winter rains. Shifts in the volcanic rock sometimes damaged the cisterns and allowed the water to escape causing a serious drought.

The Crispo dukes preferred sending members of their immediate family to live on Santorini. The Gozzadini castle was at La Punta (Akrotiri) and after 1478 the Venetian Pisani arrived at Skaros. For a time Domenico Pisani was lord of Santorini after his marriage to Fiorenza Crispo. Later Giovanni III restored it to his realm.<sup>21</sup>

One of the points of interest in a Latin church built near Skaros was an inscription:

The great Francesco Crispo, most certainly a child of heroes  
 You see with closed eyes  
 That in the 1400th Year of the Lord  
 One should add fifty-five and then two more  
 On the 7th day of December's kalends  
 Vast Therasia moaned and rocky Kaimeni  
 With its luminous rocks groaned

<sup>20</sup> Andreas Drakakis, *Ἡ νήσος Σῦρος ἐπὶ Τουρκοκρατίᾳ* (Hermoupolis, 1948), pp.11-13; Slot, *Archipelagus*, p.61.

<sup>21</sup> Armao, *In giro*, p.241.

And in a river of fire and ash

A great monster appeared never to be forgotten.<sup>22</sup>

This verse records the volcanic upheaval of 1457 which gave birth to the island called New Kaimeni in the Santorini caldera.

The Catholics on Santorini lived in Pirgos, Merovigli, near Skaros, and something rare in the Cyclades, Karterados a village of Catholic peasants. There are also remains of a Gothic church of unknown origins near Perissa.

In the fifteenth century the population declined to 300 people because of the inability of the islanders to defend themselves against pirates. Sometimes, in desperation families fled to the greater security of Crete.<sup>23</sup>

In 1537 Santorini saw Barbarossa's men appear on the island. Ironically after that date population figures increase as people felt the Turks would no longer attack an island which was now a tributary of the Ottomans. Giovanni IV's son, Giacomo, administered the island in his father's name.

The Catholic cathedral, dedicated to St. John the Baptist, was located on Skaros. A Greek altar was placed in the Latin cathedral for the native Christians. The revenues of the Catholic bishop continued to come from endowments to the former Greek cathedral of Our Lady of the Bishop at Gonias. Within it the Latins had two altars installed and on certain festivals both communities shared the church.<sup>24</sup>

### *Anafi*

In 1420 Giovanni II reclaimed Anafi for the Crispi. About that time Buondelmonti reported that so many pirates were then using the island's harbor that the people had moved into the interior.

<sup>22</sup> Text is in K. Hopf, "Veneto-Byzantinische Analekten," *SKAW*, XXIII, 401.

<sup>23</sup> Ioannis Delendas, *Οι καθολικοί της Σαντορίνης* (Athens, 1949), pp.66-67; Hopf, "Analekten," pp.403-404.

<sup>24</sup> Michael Danezis, *Σαντορίνη* (Athens, 1971), p.150; Slot, *Archipelagus*, p.61; Fedalto, *Chiesa Latina*, II, 198-99.

Here Guglielmo Crispo had a castro constructed and a wall surrounding the city. Later, when Guglielmo became duke, he passed Anafi to Fiorenza Crispo.

The fleet of Hayruddin Barbarossa took all six-hundred inhabitants captive and the island remained uninhabited for the next half century.<sup>25</sup>

### *Astipalaia*

In the late fourteenth century Astipalaia's Latin lord was Giacomo Grimani. There is no extant information on how he obtained his position. After 1413 the island passed to Zanaki Querini by purchase. The Querini, an important Venetian family who had long been associated with Cycladic affairs, now had another representative in the Aegean. Zanaki did not have a great prize. Astipalaia was practically without people following the raids of Umar Pasha. As a result Querini, who later was appointed Venetian governor of Tinos and Mikonos, sought to repopulate his private fiefdom from people there, but failed to do so when he met Venetian opposition.

Zanaki either built a new castro or remodeled the older one which was constructed in earlier times. After Zanaki's death there were five more Querini rulers of Astipalaia until 1537. Francesco II was serving as lord when Barbarossa arrived.

The Catholic church on Astipalaia was dedicated to St. George and was apparently well provided for according to the account of Francesco Coronello. By the sixteenth century the island's population had grown to 5000 people, the majority of them living in the main castro. By this time the Querini had added the island's name to their own so that in Venice they became known as the Querini-Stampalia.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>25</sup> Buondelmonti, *Liber insularum*, p.218; Armao, *In giro*, p.245.

<sup>26</sup> Raymond-Joseph Loenertz, "Les Querini, comtes d'Astypalée, 1413-1537," *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, XXX (1964), 385-97; Armao, *In giro*, p.212.

### *Amorgos*

In addition to Astipalaia, in 1446 Zanaki Querini bought Amorgos and solidified his claim by marriage with a native. His descendents ruled the island from their castro on Astipalaia until the coming of the Turks overthrew them and the island people fled to Crete.

The three castros seen by Buondelmonti were at Amorgos town, Hilai, and Plati which he found well-peopled at the time of his visit. The strong winds which bore down on the island kept navigators away.<sup>27</sup>

### *Kea*

Early in the fifteenth century this island became part of the Gozzadini inheritance through marriage. This family shared sovereignty over the island with the Premarini and the da Corognas. In the mid-fifteenth century a wedding caused the latter family to be absorbed, so that the Gozzadini could make their residence in Ioulis the capital. Both families were on the island at the time of the Ottoman attack, when most of the inhabitants fled or were taken prisoner. After 1566 the Gozzadini sent settlers from Sifnos to replace the lost population.<sup>28</sup>

During most of these years there were sufficient Catholics to warrant a bishop. After 1422 mostly titulars held the position. The last Catholic bishop Giovanni di Gaona was nominated in February 1546.<sup>29</sup>

Kea was famous for its unique custom that after a person reached sixty years of age, he or she was expected to commit suicide. The author Plutarch describes his surprise at witnessing a noble lady of Kea drink poison while she was surrounded by her friends and relatives. It is more remarkable that when Buondel-

<sup>27</sup> Buondelmonti, *Liber insularum*, p.216; Armao, *In giro*, p.253.

<sup>28</sup> Giuseppe Gerola, "Zea," *ARSA*, IV-V (1923), 198-200.

<sup>29</sup> B.J. Slot, "Καθολικαὶ ἐκκλησίαι" *Κιμωλιακά*, V, 289; Fedalto, *Chiesa Latina*, II, 83-84.

monti came to the island early in the fifteenth century he found this custom was still in vogue. The person who took his or her life was an object of admiration to all on Kea.<sup>30</sup>

### *Serifos*

Serifos passed back and forth between the two noble families of Giustiniani and Michiel throughout the fourteenth century. Other Latin families were the Adoldo, Minotti and Bragadino. In 1393 Niccolò Adoldo perpetrated a massacre on some of the other leading men on Serifos who refused his attempt at extortion. Venetian authorities arrested him, put him in prison and began direct rule over the island.<sup>31</sup>

Near the church of San Giorgio the coat of arms of Alvise Michiel, the duke who fortified the castro early in the fifteenth century, may be found. Buondelmonti reports that the people were very poor, lived in fear of pirates, and subsisted on a diet of rabbits. Their way of life had so brutalized them that they appeared to him "like untamed beasts."<sup>32</sup>

The outer islands of the Crispo era were under constant attack during this period of Archipelagan history. The dukes had no way to balance the increasing power of the Ottoman Turks in the Aegean. Ironically the invasion of Barbarossa, once its initial phase was over, gave the islands greater peace than they had heretofore enjoyed.

<sup>30</sup> Buondelmonti, *Liber insularum*, p.199.

<sup>31</sup> Giuseppe Gerola, "Serifos," *ARSA*, III (1921), 206; Armao, *In giro*, p.267.

<sup>32</sup> Buondelmonti, *Liber insularum*, pp.196-97.





## CHAPTER SEVEN

*The Venetian Islands*

When Venice began its rule over Tinos and Mikonos the two islands were no great treasures. They were important to the Republic as possible military bases but little else. The *bailio* of Negroponte was given the responsibility of sending an official on a one year's appointment to supervise affairs.<sup>1</sup> This official found it impossible to provide security for the islands, now constantly the prey of pirates: Turks, Catalans, Genoese. It made no difference for all treated the inhabitants like animals to be hunted down, captured and taken away to be sold as slaves. Delos' harbor, the best in the Aegean, became a regular place of rendez-vous for the corsairs. Tinos' and Mikonos' people, so close to Delos, declined in great numbers. Their terraced fields lay empty. Only people near the Exombourgo felt they were safe.

The Venetian Senate reached a decision on June 16, 1391 to the effect that the islands were so poor it was best to sell them in the sense of granting an extended lease to the buyer. A publication was issued, "Notice to the inhabitants of Crete, Coron, Modon, Venetians, friends or subjects: in the month of December at Venice, the islands of Tinos and Mikonos will be sold to the highest bidder. Payments can be paid over a ten-year period."<sup>2</sup>

There were no bids, the Republic had to continue its supervision. In 1402 the senators again took up the matter. Complaints were arriving from the rectors of Evvoia that they were spending 3700 *hyperpera* a year in providing for the islands' welfare, a sum which was quite beyond their means. The few families still

<sup>1</sup> Thiriet, *La Romanie vénitien*, pp.396-97; Jan Morris, *The Venetian Empire* (New York, 1980), pp.50-51.

<sup>2</sup> Quoted in Baelen, *Mykonos*, p.35.

living on the islands had become so fearful of Turkish pirates that they were threatening to leave. The Senate ordered the *syndics* of Negroponte to make a personal survey of the islands and report back to Venice.<sup>3</sup>

Four years later the Senate was again debating the fate of the islands. A delegation from Tinos requested that Marco Bembo, a Venetian whom they knew and trusted, be appointed governor. Another proposal was suggested. One Niccolò Giorgio, whose brother held the title lord of Bodonitsa, offered to govern the islands and to pay 5,000 ducats a year to the Venetian government for the right. A majority of the senators voted against Giorgio feeling the Republic should not turn over its responsibility to a private citizen. When the honor of Venice was at stake, the senators could be counted on to respond.<sup>4</sup>

Finally it was decided to agree to the islanders' request. Bembo was appointed governor with residence on the island and was to be accountable to the senate. He was to pay 1,500 ducats to the Republic's treasury and furnish a small galley with twenty-two oarsmen. The rector at Negroponte would still have the right to hear cases on appeal from the islanders.<sup>5</sup>

Bembo's term in office lasted for four years. The only document that came before the senate during his tenure was a request of July 12, 1407 for a new galley since his was in such poor condition. The senate agreed he should have it.<sup>6</sup>

Bembo's replacement was Zanaki Querini, a noble Venetian who already was the proud owner of his own island, Astipalaia.<sup>7</sup> Becoming governor of Tinos and Mikonos gave him an opportunity he had long cherished, getting more people on Astipalaia which was but a small place eleven miles long with a rocky,

<sup>3</sup> Sathas, *Μνημεῖα*, I, 14, II, 75-76.

<sup>4</sup> Sathas, *Μνημεῖα*, II, 145-48; Thiriet, *Sénat*, II, 1224, July 6, 1406; 1227, July 20, 1406; 1228, July 22, 1406.

<sup>5</sup> The revenue was later raised to 1800 *hyperpera*. Sathas, *Μνημεῖα*, II, 165.

<sup>6</sup> Freddy Thiriet, *Délibérations des Assemblées*, II, 107, Feb. 20, 1407. A list of Venetian governors of Tinos and Mikonos is to be found in Hopf, *Chroniques*, pp.373-76.

<sup>7</sup> Thiriet, *Assemblées*, II, 1180, June 10, 1411; Baelen, *Mykonos*, p.35.

mountainous interior. (In 1980 it held but 1140 people.) Querini's plan was to move as many people as he could from Tinos and Mikonos and settle them there. Once the senate got word of what was occurring, it immediately sent word to Querini to cease and desist. The senators charged that it was altogether wrong for him to move people from "our islands" whose population was already so low and whose economy was so fragile. Querini was given one month to get the immigrants returned or face a fine of 200 ducats. In the future everyone must be aware that the senate forbade the taking of any man or woman from its possessions. Querini complied, returning the immigrants to their homeland.<sup>8</sup>

After Querini's term of office ended in 1417 — he had no more success than Bembo in doing much about the poverty of the islands — the senate requested the authorities at Negroponte to choose a governor from their citizens for a single year. To aid him, the taxes required by the Republic were reduced to 1,000 *hyperpera* a year, a discouraging sign that the economy of the islands was still declining.<sup>9</sup>

The Florentine Buondelmonti landed on Tinos between 1410 and 1420. While his description of many of the islands is quite prosaic, his account of Tinos is quite different. He is told a story by the Tiniotes that once there was a pirate fleet coming towards the island. A witch was at hand. She ran to the highest mountain, took off her clothes, pulled out her hair, raised her arms to the sky and put a terrible curse upon the pirates. Hardly had she finished when a strong wind arose and sank the pirates' fleet. Survivors swam ashore, but she made them invisible and harmless so that the Tiniotes could get rich on their treasure. Another story told of a boat with horses that sunk offshore. The animals swam to the island where the people bridled them and took them home. It is comforting to know that at times the Tiniotes had a bit of luck. Buondelmonti found Mikonos to be arid and practically deserted of people. He remarked on the number of wild rabbits he saw.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Sathas, *Μνήμεια*, III, 4-5.

<sup>9</sup> Thiriet, *Sénat*, II, 1637, Jan. 19, 1417; 1699, June 18, 1418.

From official documents all the news was bad. The people could not pay their taxes, two Catalan ships had made off with seventy people, and the Turks kept coming.<sup>11</sup> At last a Tiniote delegation went off to Venice. Its members had heard that Venice might find the conditions on the island so bad they would abandon them. They asked "that they not be sold or hurt in any way, but governed by a rector, a noble Venetian of our land, just as all other territories in the Levant are ruled."<sup>12</sup> In 1430 the Venetians agreed, a rector would be sent from Negroponte on a three-year term with certain conditions placed on him. His salary would be fixed; he was allowed only one additional term. While on Tinos he could not marry, receive gifts or engage in business.<sup>13</sup>

Tinkering with the political structure of the island did not alleviate the pressing need for the Venetian fleet to anchor somewhere in the neighborhood. Reports continued to come from Negroponte that the situation was desperate. All the animals of the island had been stolen. There was no seed for next year's planting; the people were so pauperized that a two-year exemption from taxes was asked. The governors were amassing property and livestock from impoverished farmers. The fortress on St. Helena needed repairs but there was no money. The records offer a bleak story with little to relieve the agony.<sup>14</sup> It was a wonder that when a descendent of the deceased Giorgio II, one Lorenzo Ghisi, laid claim to the islands, the senate did not unload them on him.<sup>15</sup> In 1449 Mikonos had become so depopulated that its bishopric was joined to that of Tinos, when a bishop named Boniface lived in the Exombourgo.<sup>16</sup>

Once again the Venetians thought of divesting themselves of the

<sup>10</sup> Buondelmonti, *Liber insularum*, pp.203-04.

<sup>11</sup> Thiriet, *Sénat*, II, 2137, May 15, 1429; 2170, Nov. 27, 1429.

<sup>12</sup> Sathas, *Μνημεία*, III, 362-64.

<sup>13</sup> Sathas, *Μνημεία*, III, 364-65; Thiriet, *Assemblées*, II, 1325, Feb. 6, 1430.

<sup>14</sup> Sathas, *Μνημεία*, III, 440; Thiriet, *Sénat*, III, 2286, June 10, 1432; 2386, Sept. 28, 1436.

<sup>15</sup> Thiriet, *Sénat*, III, 2732, Sept. 1446.

<sup>16</sup> Fedalto, *La Chiesa Latina*, II, 228-29.

islands. A price of 3,000 *hyperpera* was suggested but again no one stepped forward to take this "bargain." A former governor could only admit "et omnia vadunt in ruinam."<sup>17</sup>

The capture of Constantinople by the Ottoman Turks and their move into the mainland of Greece boded ill for all the islanders. Soon Venice was engaged in a series of wars which continued from the mid-fifteenth century for the next two hundred years. Each time there was a war, Tinos and Mikonos were exposed to attacks from the Turkish navy and Ottoman privateers.<sup>18</sup>

After the fall of Evvoia in 1470, Tinos and Mikonos were more endangered than ever since the main Venetian base in the Aegean was now gone. Governors now had to be sent from Venice who were men of second-class quality, willing to take the risk of administering the islands only because they hoped to milk the citizenry of what little they had. The tale of their rapacity continues throughout the fifteenth century with monotonous regularity.<sup>19</sup>

The flag of St. Mark still flew over the destitute islands in the early sixteenth century. It was to be challenged, however, in 1538 when the Turkish admiral Hayruddin Barbarossa again sailed into the Aegean, following the attack made the previous year on Naxos.

When it was heard that he was at sea the frightened population of Mikonos hurried to Tinos where they took shelter on Exom-bourgo. Arriving in Tinos' harbor a Greek serving as a Turkish representative demanded the Tiniotes hand over their Venetian rector, Andrea Dolfino, and his aides. The Tiniotes feared the consequences if they refused so that the unfortunate Italians were given to the Turks along with an initial payment of tribute and a promise of allegiance to the sultan.

The next year, however, when five Turkish galleys sailed to the island they discovered that the Tiniotes had had a change of mind. They refused the tribute and once more flew the banner of St. Mark. Rather than delay their voyage, the galleys moved on.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>17</sup> Thiriet, *Sénat*, III, 2833, Aug. 4, 1450.

<sup>18</sup> Thiriet, *Sénat*, III, 2845, Dec. 18, 1450; 3108, Mar. 24, 1460.

<sup>19</sup> Sathas, *Μνημεῖα*, IV, 235-36; Lamansky, *Secrets d'état*, pp.8-11.

A story told by the French traveller Joseph de Pitton Tournefort tells how when he visited Tinos many years later Arnados, Triantaros and Dyo Choria, the three villages which had been most insistent on surrendering to Barbarossa, were publically reminded of their lack of courage. Every May 1 the rector of Tinos would lead the inhabitants of the three villages along with other islanders in a great procession up to the Exombourgo with the flag of St. Mark in the lead. He then went to the area adjacent to the church of St. Veneranda where a salvo of muskets was fired. Three times everyone cried out, "Viva San Marco." After this there was a dance and a holiday with a community feast. Everyone who was a *feudatori* had to attend. If he missed he was fined — three years in a row and he lost his property.<sup>21</sup> Once delivered, the Tiniotes seem to have come together in a new feeling of community with confidence in themselves to resist the invader. Just as the resident Venetians had become Hellenized in their speech, by 1500 perhaps half of the Greek population had become Catholic in their religion. It was an admixture of cultures, duplicated only on the neighboring island of Siros.

On Mikonos the Ottomans decided to stay. The treaty signed between Venice and the Porte in 1540 gave the island to the Turks. The governor on Tinos would still speak of himself as rector of Tinos and Mikonos but it was not true. Mikonos was gone forever. A few refugees returned from Tinos taking up life under the Turks. They were well treated by the sultans. *Ahdnames*, grants recognizing the island's privileges, were so numerous as to allow a great amount of independence.<sup>22</sup>

It was apparent to the Venetians that the treaty of 1540 was but a truce so that every effort was made to prepare the island for a new assault. The St. Helena fortress was repaired, the wall around

<sup>20</sup> Demetrios Z. Sophianos, "Ιστοριακή αναδρομή εις την βενετο - κρατουμένην Τήνον," *EEKM*, IX (1971-73), 126-27; S. Romanin, *Storia documentata di Venezia* (10 vols., Venice, 1855-61), VI, 26-27.

<sup>21</sup> Joseph Pitton de Tournefort, *Relation d'un voyage du Levant fait par ordre du roy* (2 vols. in 4, Paris, 1717), p.362.

<sup>22</sup> E.E. Koukkou, *Οι κοινοτικοί θεσμοί στις Κυκλάδες κατά την Τουρκοκρατίαν* (Athens, 1980), pp.66-67.

Exombourgo strengthened. To improve relations with the Greek natives the status of *villani* disappeared as a legal definition. An official known as the *kapetanios* or *protoyeros* represented the villagers to the rector. Militia duty and rowers in the galleys continued to be obligated to arm themselves.<sup>23</sup>

Despite all Venetian efforts to keep the governors on Tinos honest, the task seemed to be too formidable. Those officials made "arrangements" with one of the powerful families, the Scutari, clients of the Loredano family, to see to it that they monopolized much of the business on the island. One brother held the office of castellan, the other had seized the bishopric. Finally, in July 1560 the senate in Venice sought to remedy the situation by sending a *syndic* with full powers to eradicate the abuses. It had been some thirty years since a full investigation had been made. For this task the senate chose Niccolò Barbarigo, a member of the council in Canea of Crete. His report was a scathing denunciation of Rector Mattio Baffo.

In almost thirty pages of printed text, Barbarigo listed the problems of Tinos' government. Baffo had seized public property for his own use, he had stolen money from the *commune*, the council of the local citizens, and his greed forced the people into poverty. He ignored the customs of the island, he perverted both civil and criminal cases which came before him. He sold public offices, sought to monopolize the sale of livestock and neglected the defenses of the city. Barbarigo placed him under arrest to stand trial in Venice. He and another former rector Francesco Michiel were put to torture so as to get a full confession some four years later. The wheels of justice did not turn quickly in sixteenth century Venice, even with the rack in position.

Barbarigo listed the changes he made; his main concern after seeing to it that honest men should be rectors, had been to improve the defenses of Tinos. He had reinstituted the office of *bailio* of the castle, reformed the militia, ordered its members to repair the walls of the Exombourgo, which he noted are naturally in a "sito

<sup>23</sup> Thiriet, *Sénat*, III, 2747, June 23, 1447; Slot, *Archipelagus*, I, 51.

fortissimo," so that only a little attention would keep them in repair.

The island was the last important possession of Venice in the Aegean on the route to Cyprus. Both defensive and nostalgic reasons argued that Venice must do everything to hold Tinos. It succeeded in doing that until 1714 when, at last, like the other Cycladic islands, it fell to the Turks. It was the "last thorn" among the roses which the Ottomans held when they occupied the Aegean islands.



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